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TEUTONIC MYTHOLOGY.

JACOB GRIMM.

TEUTONIC MYTHOLOGY

BY

JACOB GRIMM.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FOURTH EDITION.

WITH

NOTES AND APPENDIX

BY

JAMES STEVEN STALLYBRASS.

VOL. III.

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PREFACE

TO THE SECOND EDITION (1844).

Now that I am able to put my germinated sprout of German Mythology into its second leafing, I do it with a firmer confidence in the unimpeded progress of its growth. When the first shyness was once overcome, seeking and finding came more quickly together; and facts, that rebuked any effeminate doubt of the reality of scientific discoveries on a field till then considered barren, started up on every side, till now there is a glut of them. Well, I have got my joists and rafters, drawn some lines, laid some courses, and yet guarded against pretending to finality; for who would do that, so long as in one place the materials are wanting, and in another the hands are still full with fetching? I wish to explain all I can, but I am far from being able to explain all I wish.

Criticism, often brilliantly successful on foreign fields, had sinned against our native antiquities, and misused most of the means it had. The immortal work of a Roman writer had shed a light of dawn on the history of Germany, which other nations may well envy us: not content with suspecting the book's genuineness (as though the united Middle Ages had been capable of such a product), its statements, sprung from honest love of truth, were cried down, and the gods it attributes to our ancestors were traced to the intrusion of Roman ideas. Instead of diligently comparing the contents of so precious a testimony with the remnants of our heathenism scattered elsewhere, people made a point of minimizing the value of these few fragments also, and declaring them forged, borrowed, absurd. Such few gods as remained unassailed, it was the fashion to make short work of, by treating them as Gallic or Slavic, just as vagrants are shunted off to the next parish—let our neighbours dispose of the rubbish as they can. The Norse Edda, whose plan, style and substance

breathe the remotest antiquity, whose songs lay hold of the heart in a far different way from the extravagantly admired poems of Ossian, they traced to christian and Anglo-Saxon influence, blindly or wilfully overlooking its connexion with the relics of eld in Germany proper, and thinking to set it all down to nurses and spinning-wives (p. 1230), whose very name seemed, to those unacquainted with the essence of folk-lore, to sound the lowest note of contempt. They have had their revenge now, those norns and spindle-bearers.

One may fairly say, that to deny the reality of this mythology is as much as to impugn the high antiquity and the continuity of our language: to every nation a belief in gods was as necessary as language. No one will argue from the absence or poverty of memorials, that our forefathers at any given time did not practise their tongue, did not hand it down; yet the lack or scantiness of information is thoughtlessly alleged as a reason for despoiling our heathenism, antecedent to the conversion, of all its contents, so to speak. History teaches us to recognise in language, the farther we are able to follow it up, a higher perfection of form, which declines as culture advances; as the forms of the thirteenth century are superior to our present ones, and those of the ninth and the fifth stand higher still, it may be presumed that German populations of the first three centuries of our era, whose very names have never reached us, must have spoken a more perfect language than the Gothic itself. Now if such inferences as to what is non-extant are valid in language, if its present condition carries us far back to an older and oldest; a like proceeding must be justifiable in mythology too, and from its dry water-courses we may guess the copious spring, from its stagnant swamps the ancient river. Nations hold fast by prescription: we shall never comprehend their tradition, their superstition, unless we spread under it a bed on still heathen soil.

And these views are confirmed by what we know to be true of poetry and legend. If the heathens already possessed a finely articulated language, and if we concede to them an abundant stock of religious myths, then song and story could not fail to

lay hold of these, and to interweave themselves with the rites and customs. That such was the case we are assured by Tacitus; and the testimony of Jornandes and Eginhart leaves not the smallest room for doubt respecting later ages. Those primitive songs on Tuisco, on Mannus and the three races that branched out of him, are echoed long after in the genealogies of Ingo, Iscio, Hermino; so the Hygelâc of the Beowulf-song, whom a tenth century legend that has just emerged from oblivion names Huglacus Magnus (Haupt 5, 10), is found yet again—as a proof that even poetry may agree with history—in the 'Chochilaichus' of Gregory of Tours. If in the 12th and 13th centuries our country's hero-legend gleamed up for the last time, poets must have kept on singing it for a long time before, as is plain from the saved fragment of Hildebrand and the Latin versions of Rudlieb and Waltharius; while not a tone survives of those Low German lays and legends, out of which nevertheless proceeded the Vilkinasaga that mirrors them back. The rise of our Court-poetry has without the slightest ground or necessity been ascribed to the Crusades; if we are to assume any importations from the East, these can more conveniently be traced to the earlier and quieter intercourse of Goths and Northmen with the Greek empire, unless indeed we can make up our minds to place nearly all the coincidences that startle us to the account of a fundamental unity of the European nations, a mighty influence which is seen working through long ages, alike in language, legend and religion.

I am met by the arrogant notion, that the life of whole centuries was pervaded by a soulless cheerless barbarism; this would at once contradict the loving kindness of God, who has made His sun give light to all times, and while endowing men with gifts of body and soul, has instilled into them the consciousness of a higher guidance: on all ages of the world, even those of worst repute, there surely fell a foison of health and wealth, which preserved in nations of a nobler strain their sense of right and law. One has only to recognise the mild and manly spirit of our higher antiquity in the purity and power of the national

laws, or the talent inherited by the thirteenth century in its eloquent, inspired poems, in order justly to appreciate legend and myth, which in them had merely struck root once more.

But our inquiry ought to have the benefit of this justice both in great things and in small. Natural science bears witness, that the smallest may be an index to the greatest; and the reason is discoverable, why in our antiquities, while the main features were effaced, petty and apparently accidental ones have been preserved. I am loth to let even slight analogies escape me, such as that between Bregowine, Freáwine, and Gotes friunt (p. 93).

True to my original purpose, I have this time also taken the Norse mythology merely as woof, not as warp. It lies near to us, like the Norse tongue, which, having stood longer undisturbed in its integrity, gives us a deeper insight into the nature of our own, yet not so that either loses itself wholly in the other, or that we can deny to the German language excellences of its own, and to the Gothic a strength superior to both of them together. So the Norse view of the gods may in many ways clear up and complete the German, yet not serve as the sole standard for it, since here, as in the language, there appear sundry divergences of the German type from the Norse, giving the advantage now to the one and now to the other. Had I taken the rich exuberance of the North as the basis of my inquiry, it would have perilously overshadowed and choked the distinctively German, which ought rather to be developed out of itself, and, while often agreeing with the other, yet in some things stands opposed. The case appears therefore to stand thus, that, as we push on, we shall approach the Norse boundary, and at length reach the point where the wall of separation can be pierced, and the two mythologies run together into one greater whole. If at present some new points of connexion have been established, more important diversities have revealed themselves too. To the Norse antiquarians in particular, I hope my procedure will be acceptable: as we gladly give to them in return for what we have received, they ought no less to receive than to give. Our memorials are

scantier, but older; theirs are younger and purer; two things it was important here to hold fast: first, that the Norse mythology is genuine, and so must the German be; then, that the German is old, and so must the Norse be.

We have never had an Edda come down to us, nor did any one of our early writers attempt to collect the remains of the heathen faith. Such of the christians as had sucked German milk were soon weaned under Roman training from memories of home, and endeavoured not to preserve, but to efface the last impressions of detested paganism. Jornandes and Paulus Diaconus, who must have had plenty of heathen stories still within their reach, made but slight use of the mythical ones. Other ecclesiastics now and then, for a particular purpose, dole out scraps of information which are of great value to us: Jonas (pp. 56. 109), Beda (p. 289), Alcuin (p. 229), Widukind (p. 253), Adam of Bremen (p. 230). As I have said on p. 9, some monk at St. Gall, Fulda, Merseburg or Corvei might have conceived the happy idea of putting pen to the antiquities of his country, gathering up things of which the footprints were still fresh, and achieving for the foreground of our history, just where it begins to disengage itself from legend, a lasting work, such as Saxo Grammaticus accomplished. Even if German tradition was more blurred and colourless from the seventh century to the eleventh, than was Danish in the twelfth, if estrangement from native legend had advanced more slowly in the far North; yet Waltharius and Rudlieb, or the rhyme of the boar in Notker, may shew us that in the very cloisters there was much still unforgotten of the ancient songs. It is likely that scribes continued for some time to add to the collection set on foot by Charles the Great, the destruction of which has proved an incalculable loss, and from which we might have obtained an abundance of materials and pictures of the remotest eld. The Middle High-German poets found themselves already much farther away from all this; anything they might still unconsciously borrow from it must have been preserved accidentally in traditional forms of poetry or the living idiom of the people. The very book in which heathen names and cha-

racters might the most innocently have found a place, Albrecht of Halberstadt's translation of the Metamorphoses, is lost to us in its original form; when Rudolf in his Barlaam from a christian point of view refutes the Grecian gods after the fashion of Chrothilde (see p. 107), he sticks too closely to his text to let any native characteristics come into his head: the age was too entirely absorbed in its immediate present to feel the slightest inclination to look back into its own or other people's distant past. It is not till the 14th or 15th century that sundry writers begin to shew a propensity to this. Gobelinus Persona bestows a mite (p. 254); if Böhmer would but soon give us an edition of the Magdeburg Schöppenchronick and the Chronicon Picturatum, both sadly wanted! Conf. Böhmer's Reg. ed. 1849, p. xxi, pag. 62 ad ann. 1213; Zeuss p. 38. The statements of Botho, uncritical as they are, claim attention, for in his day there may have been accounts still afloat, which have vanished since. A curious one is contained in Joh. Craemer's Chronica sancti Petri in monte crucis ad ann. 1468: 'Matthaeus Huntler in cella Sancti Martini ad Werram vidit librum Johannis Vanderi, ord. S. Benedicti monachi in Reynertsborn, de omnibus gentilium deastris in provincia nostra, quem magna cura conscripsit, et quemlibet deastrum in habitu suo eleganter depinxit cum multis antiquitatibus, in quibus bene versatus esse dicitur.' Botho drew his descriptions from figures of idols that were before his eyes; and at Reinhartsbrunn in Thuringia there might be similar things extant, or the very same that found their way to Brunswick, if only Paullini, whose Syntagma p. 315 furnishes that passage from the chronicle, were not himself suspicious. The like uncertainty hangs over Joh. Berger (p. 96), over a Conradus Fontanus quoted by Letzner (p. 190), and the Frisian Cappidus whose work Hamconius professes to have used (see my chap. XXI, Lotus). Any one that cared to read straight through Berthold of Regensburg's works, dating from the end of the 13th century, would very likely, where the preacher gets to speak of sorcery and devilry, come upon cursory notices of the superstitions of his time, as even the later sermons of Johannes

Herolt (my ch. XXXI, Berchta, Holda), Johannes Nider (d. cir. 1440), and Geiler von Kaisersberg offer some details. And even historians in the 16th and 17th centuries, who rummaged many a dusty archive, such as Aventin, Celtes, Freher, Spangenberger, Letzner (d. after 1612), Nicolaus Gryse (d. 1614), must have had all sorts of available facts within their reach, though to pick the grain out of the chaff would no doubt come easier to us than to them.

Much then is irrecoverably lost to our mythology; I turn to the sources that remain to it, which are partly Written Memorials, partly the never resting stream of living Manners and Story. The former may reach far back, but they present themselves piecemeal and disconnected, while the popular tradition of to-day hangs by threads which ultimately link it without a break to ancient times. Of the priceless records of the Romans, who let the first ray of history fall on their defeated but unsubdued enemy, I have spoken in the fourth and sixth chapters. If among gods and heroes only Tuisco, Mannus and Alx are named in German, and the rest given in 'Romana interpretatio;' on the other hand, the female names Nerthus, Veleda, Tanfana, Huldana (for Hludana), Aliruna, have kept their original form; and so have names of peoples and places that lead back to gods, Ingaevones, Iscaevones, Herminones, Asciburgium. Christian authors also, writing in Latin, prefer the Roman names, yet, when occasion calls, Wodan, Thunar, Frea, Sahsnot cannot be avoided. The refined language of the Goths, and the framework of their hero-legend, lead us to imagine a very full development of their faith, then just giving way to christianity, though to us it has sunk into such utter darkness: such expressions as fráuja, halja, sibja, unhulþo, skôhsl, anz, faírguni, sáuil (as well as sunna), vaíhts, alhs, gudja, hunsl, dulþs, jiuleis, midjun-gards, aúhns, aþn, blôtan, inveitan, must have heathen notions lying at their base, and these would offer themselves far more abundantly if portions of the Gothic Old Testament had reached us. After the lapse of a few centuries we find the other dialects all more or less corrupted when compared with the Gothic, and as a long

interval had then passed since the conversion of most of the races, heathenism must have retreated farther from the language also and the poetry. Nevertheless the fragment of Muspilli, the Abrenuntiatio, the Merseburg Lay and a few others, still allow our glances to rove back beyond our expectation; isolated words occur in glosses, and proper names of men, places, herbs, point to other vestiges; not only do gods and heroes step out of the mist, as Wuotan, Donar, Zio, Phol, Paltar, Frôho, Sintarfizilo, Orentil, and goddesses or wise women, as Frouwa, Folla, Sindgund, Wurt; but a host of other words, itis, wiht, urlac, fuld, haruc, hliodar, paro, sigil, zunkal, etc. are found uneradicated. Of course, among the Saxons, who remained heathen longer, especially among the Anglo-Saxons, whose language preserved its warmth better by poetry, such relics are trebly numerous, for beside Wôden, Thunor, Freá, Bealdor, Helle, Eástre, Hrêðe, and the rich store of names in the genealogies, there add themselves Forneot, Wôma, Geofon, Gersuma, Wuscfreá, Bregowine, Earendel, ides, wyrd, wælcyrge, þyrs, eoten, geola, hleodor, bearo, neorxenawong, hæleðhelm, Brosingamene, and many more. What the Middle High German poetry inevitably loses by comparison with the older, is compensated by its greater quantity: together with hero-names like Nibelunc, Schiltunc, Schilbunc, Alberîch, Wielant, Horant, which fall at once within the province of mythology, it has treasured up for us the words tarnkappe, albleich, heilwâc, turse, windesbrût, goltwine and the like, while in oft-recurring phrases about des sunnen haz, des arn winde, des tiuvels muoter, we catch the clear echo of ancient fables. Most vividly, in never-tiring play of colours, the minne-songs paint the triumphal entry of May and Summer: the pining heart missed in the stately march its former god. The personifications of Sælde and Aventiure spring from a deep-hidden root; how significant are the mere names of Wunsch and vâlant, which are not found in all the poets even, let alone in O.H.German! Yet we cannot imagine otherwise than that these words, although their reference to Wuotan and Phol was through long ages latent, were drawn directly

and without a break from heathenism. They are a proof of the possibility of traditions lingering only in certain spots, and thus finding their way after all to here and there a poet; totally silenced in places and periods, they suddenly strike up somewhere else, though any district, any dialect, can boast but few or comparatively few of these; it is not many arch-mythical terms, like frau, hölle, wicht, that our language has constant need of, and has never to this day cast off.

If these numerous written memorials have only left us sundry bones and joints, as it were, of our old mythology, its living breath still falls upon us from a vast number of Stories and Customs, handed down through lengthened periods from father to son. With what fidelity they propagate themselves, how exactly they seize and transmit to posterity the essential features of the fable, has never been noticed till now that people have become aware of their great value, and begun to set them down in collections simple and copious. Oral legend is to written records as the folk-song is to poetic art, or the rulings recited by schöffen (scabini) to written codes.

But the folk-tale wants to be gleaned or plucked with a delicate hand. Grasp it rudely, it will curl up its leaves, and deny its dearest fragrance. There lies in it such a store of rich development and blossom, that, even when presented incomplete, it contents us in its native adornment, and would be deranged and damaged by any foreign addition. Whoever should venture on that, ought, if he would shew no gap in his harness, to be initiated into all the innocence of popular poetry; as he who would coin a word, into all the mysteries of language. Out of elben (elves) to make elfen, was doing violence to our language; with still less of forbearance have violent hands been laid on the colouring and contents even of myths. They thought to improve upon the folk-tale, and have always fallen short of it: not even where it shews gaps, is any restoration to be dreamt of, which sits upon it as new whitewash on old ruins, contriving with a couple of dabs to wipe out all the charm. Astonishing are the various shapes its identity assumes,

additional adornments spring up on ground where we least expect it; but it is not in every soil that it thrives luxuriantly, here and there it shews scanty or shy; it is sure to be vigorous where rhymes and spells abound in it. The heaviest crops seem to be realized by those collections which, starting from a district rich in legend, glean cautiously from the surrounding neighbourhoods, without straying far from its limits; thus Otmar's Harz-sagen found a favourable field, which is probably worth going over a second time within the like modest bounds. Among collections that have lately come to light, I name Börner's Tales of the Orla-gau, which, grown up on rich legendary soil, yield much that is valuable, though the accompanying discourses fail to realize the true nature of Folk-legend. Bernhard Baader's Tales of Upper Germany afford a rich treasure, in simple suitable language; but in Mone's Anzeiger they are presented in so scattered and inconvenient a form, that they ought to be re-digested in a new edition: the two different versions of the story of Dold (quoted on p. 983), are a good illustration of what I meant just now by 'meagre' and 'luxuriant.' Bechstein's Thuringian Legends seem to me only in the last two volumes to attain the true point of view, and to offer something worth having. The Legends of Samogitia and the Mark, collected by Reusch and Kuhn, satisfy all requirements; they furnish most copious material, and put to shame the notion that any district of Germany is poor in popular traditions, which only elude those who know not the right way to approach them. Soon perhaps we shall get collections laid out on the same thoughtful plan from Holstein, Westphalia, Bavaria and Tyrol.

For Denmark too we have a model collection by Thiele, whose last edition has only just reached me, and still remains unused. Many of the finest Swedish legends have been given us in various places, but a still greater number must be lying ungathered: Afzelius's Sago-häfder, welcome as they are, go too much on the plan of extracting the juice from whatever came to hand. Norway can hardly be less stocked with legend than Sweden, it has moreover its popular lays to shew, into which songs of

the Edda have been transmuted, witness the lay of Thor's hammer (p. 181) and the Sôlar-lay. In our own day, J. W. Wolf is labouring on the popular traditions of Belgium, and Rob. Chambers on those of Scotland, with zeal and visible success.

The Fairy-tale (märchen) is with good reason distinguished from the Legend, though by turns they play into one another. Looser, less fettered than legend, the Fairy-tale lacks that local habitation, which hampers legend, but makes it the more home-like. The Fairy-tale flies, the legend walks, knocks at your door; the one can draw freely out of the fulness of poetry, the other has almost the authority of history. As the Fairy-tale stands related to legend, so does legend to history, and (we may add) so does history to real life. In real existence all the outlines are sharp, clear and certain, which on history's canvas are gradually shaded off and toned down. The ancient mythus, however, combines to some extent the qualities of fairy-tale and legend; untrammelled in its flight, it can yet settle down in a local home.

It was thought once, that after the Italian and French collections of Fairy-tales it was too late to attempt any in Germany, but this is contradicted by fact; and Molbech's collection, and many specimens inserted in his book by Afzelius, testify also how rich Denmark and Sweden are in fairy-tales not yet extinct. But all collections have wellnigh been overtopt lately by the Norwegian (still unfinished) of Moe and Asbiörnsen, with its fresh and full store; and treasures not a few must be lurking in England, Scotland, and the Netherlands, from all of which Mythology may look to receive manifold gain.

To indicate briefly the gain she has already derived from the Folk-tale (legend): it is plain that to this alone we owe our knowledge of the goddesses Holda, Berhta and Fricka, as also the myth of the Wild Hunt which leads us straight to Wôdan. The tale of the old beggar-wife is a reminiscence of Grîmnir. Of the wise-women, of swan-wives, of kings shut up in hills we should have learnt little from written documents, did not Legend spread her light over them; even the myths of the Sin-flood and

the World's Destruction she has not lost sight of to this day. But what is most fondly cherished in her, and woven into the gayest tissues, is the delightful narratives of giants, dwarfs, elves, little wights, nixies, night-hags and home-sprites, these last being related to the rest as the tame beasts of the fable are to the wild and unsubjugated: in poetry the wild is always superior to the tamed. The legend of the sun-blind dwarfs (pp. 466n., 1247) and that of the blood-vat (pp. 468n., 902) remind us of the Edda.

In the Fairy-tale also, dwarfs and giants play their part: Swan-witchen (Swan-white) and Dorn-röschen (Thorn-rose = Sleeping Beauty), pp. 425, 1204 are a swan-wife and a valkyr; the three spinning-wives, p. 415, are norns; the footstool hurled down from the heavenly seat (p. 136), Death as a godfather (p. 853), the player's throw and Jack the gamester (pp. 818n., 887) reach back to heathen times. Fairy-tales, not legends, have in common with the god-myth a multitude of metamorphoses; and they often let animals come upon the stage, and so they trespass on the old Animal-epos.

In addition to the fairy-tale and folk-tale, which to this day supply healthy nourishment to youth and the common people, and which they will not give up, whatever other pabulum you may place before them, we must take account of Rites and Customs, which, having sprung out of antiquity and continued ever since, may yield any amount of revelations concerning it. I have endeavoured to shew how ignition by friction, Easter fires, healing fountains, rain-processions, sacred animals, the conflict between summer and winter, the carrying-out of Death, and the whole heap of superstitions, especially about path-crossing and the healing of diseases, are distinctly traceable to heathen origins. Of many things, however, the explanation stands reserved for a minute inquiry devoting itself to the entire life of the people through the different seasons of the year and times of life; and no less will the whole compass of our law-antiquities shed a searching light on the old religion

and manners. In festivals and games comes out the bright joyous side of the olden time; I have been anxious to point out the manifold, though never developed, germs of dramatic representation, which may be compared to the first attempts of Greek or Roman art. The Yule-play is still acted here and there in the North; its mode of performance in Gothland (p. 43) bears reference to Freyr. The little wights' play is mentioned on p. 441 n.; on the bear's play (p. 785) I intend to enlarge more fully elsewhere. Sword-dance and giant's dance (p. 304), Berchta's running (p. 279), Whitsun play (p. 785), Easter play (p. 780), the induction of summer or May, the violet-hunt and the swallow's welcome are founded on purely heathen views; even the custom of the kilt-gang, like that of watchmen's songs (p. 749), can be traced up to the most antique festivities.

Such are our sources, and so far do they still carry us: let us examine what results the study of them hitherto has yielded.

Divinities form the core of all mythology: ours were buried almost out of sight, and had to be dug out. Their footmarks were to be traced, partly in Names that had stubbornly refused to be rooted out, yet offered little more than their bare sound; partly, under some altered guise, in the more fluid but fuller form of the Folk-tale. This last applies more to the goddesses, the former to the gods. Gods and heroes are found in the very names of runes, the first of which in Old Norse is Freyr, others are Thor, Zio, Eor, Asc, Man, but nowhere goddesses.

The gods that have kept the firmest hold are the three marked in the days of the week as Mercury, Jupiter, Mars; and of these, Wuotan stands out the most distinct. Jonas, Fredegar, Paulus Diaconus and the Abrenuntiatio name him, he towers at the head of ancient lines of kings, many places bear the indelible impress of his name. Woedenspanne signified a part of the human hand, as the North named another part 'úlf-liðr,' wolf-lith, after the god Týr. Unexpectedly our 13th century has preserved for us

one of his names [Wish], which lies in abeyance even in the Norse system, yet is the one that stands in the closest contact with the women that do the god's bidding, with the wand that unlocks his hoard, with the mantle that carries him through the air, nay, is the only one that puts all these in the true light. The Norse name Omi is not quite so clearly explained by the AS. Wôma, though the word marks unmistakably the stormful god whom we know more certainly through our legend of the 'furious host': the wide cloak and low hat are retained in the name Hackelbernd, which I venture to trace back to a Gothic Hakul-baírands (p. 146-7). As Longbeard, the god deep-sunk in his mountain-sleep is reproduced in the royal heroes Charles and Frederick: *who* better than Wuotan, on whose shoulder they sit and bring him thoughts and tidings, was entitled to inquire after the flying ravens? Ravens and wolves scented his march to victory, and they above all other animals have entered into the proper names of the people. In the Norse sagas the questioner is a blind graybeard, who just as plainly is old Oðin again. Father of victory, he is likewise god of blessing and bliss, *i.e.* Wish over again, whose place is afterwards occupied by Sâlida (well-being). Since he appears alike as god of poetry, of measurement, of the span, of the boundary and of the dice-throw, all gifts, treasures, arts may be regarded as having proceeded from him.

Though a son of Wuotan and yielding to him in power or influence, Donar (Thunar, Thor) appears at times identical with him, and to some extent as an older god worshipped before Wuotan. For, like Jupiter, he is a father, he is grandfather of many nations, and, as grandfather, is a god of the hills, a god of the rocks, a hammer, sits in the forest, throned on the mountain top, and hurls his old stone weapon, the lightning's bolt. To him the oak was sacred, and his hammer's throw measured out land, as did afterwards Wuotan's wand. He rather flies furiously at the giants than fights battles at the head of heroes, or meditates the art of war. I think it a significant feature, that he drives or walks, instead of riding like Wuotan: he never

presents himself in the wild hunt, nor in women's company. But his name is still heard in curses (Wuotan's only in protestations, p. 132); and as Redbeard, Donar might sit in the mountain too. The heroes all go to Wuotan's heaven, the common folk turn in at Donar's; beside the elegant stately Wuotan, we see about Donar something plebeian, boorish and uncouth. He seems the more primitive deity, displaced in the course of ages (yet not everywhere) by a kindred but more comprehensive one.

If Wuotan and Donar are to be regarded as exalted deities of heaven, much more may Zio, Tius, be accepted as such, whose name expresses literally the notion of sky, while Wuotan signifies the air, and Donar the thunderstorm. And as Wuotan turns the tide of battle, Zio presents himself as the special god of war; as Donar flings the hammer and Wuotan the spear, he is god of the sword, as exhibited in the names Sahsnôt and Heru. But here much remains dark to us, because our legend has lost sight of Zio altogether. Like Wuotan, he also seems to rush down from the sky in the form of tempest.

Two others, though never appearing in the week, must yet be reckoned among the great gods. Froho, a god of hunting, of generation, fertility and summer, had long planted his name in the heart of our language, where he still maintains his ground in the derivatives frôn and frönen; his sacred golden-bristled boar survived in helmet-crests, in pastry, and at the festive meal. Year by year in kingly state Froho journeyed through the lands (p. 213. 760). He is the gracious loving deity, in contrast with the two last-mentioned, and with Wuotan in one aspect; for, as Wish, Wuotan also seems kindly and creative like Froho.

As to Phol, scarcely known to us till now, I have hazarded so many conjectures that I will not add to their number here. If, as appears most likely, he is synonymous with Paltar (Balder), he must pass for a god of light, but also of fire, and again of tempest; under another view he haunted wells and springs. He approximates the higher elemental powers, and could the more easily be perverted into a diabolic being. Equally lost to Germany is the name of the Norse Loki, who represents fire in another

aspect, and was still better qualified to stand for the devil. The stories of his artfulness, his cunning tricks, have reproduced themselves repeatedly in all branches of our race.

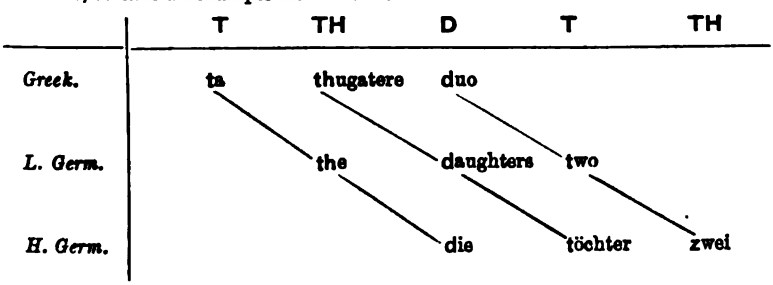
I now turn to the Goddesses. A mother of gods, Nerthus, is named to us by Tacitus; her name is the exact counterpart to that of a Norse god, who confirms her existence, as Freyr would confirm that of Freyja, had she come down to us only as the High German Frouwa, and from the Gothic fráuja (m.) we have the same right to infer a fem. fráujô. Say that her name of Nerthus has long ago died out, if it ever extended to all branches of our race; a whole group of beings almost identical with her lives on in fadeless legend: Holde, Berhte, Fricke, Harke, Gaue, Stempe, Trempe. At the first glance none of these names seem to go very high up; yet, Berhte at all events is introduced in poems of the 14–15th century, and the matter begins to wear another look the moment we can set her beside the Carolingian Berhta, beside the Eddic Biört (p. 1149), beside the deeply rooted tradition of the 'white lady.' Of dame Holda the legend was never written down till the 17th century; if Holda was in the Venus-mountain, which goes as far back as the 14th, she at once gains in importance; then further, in the 12th century we can point to Pharaïldis (p. 284); and if, to crown all, Huldana in the stone inscription is correct (p. 266), we can have but little doubt of a Gothic worship of Hulþô (p. 990). Now, as Berhta and Holda are adjective names, I was fain to claim for Nerthus also an adj. basis naírthus, with the sense of mild, gracious, fair. Frigg too (p. 301-2) I interpret by the adj. free, fair, gracious. If Gaue, Gauden, is a corruption of the masc. Wôden, it might still have an accessory notion of good. Frouwa is obviously the fem. to Froho, and still asserts her full power in our present frau. Almost all names of the female deities have still a transparent meaning; as compared with those of the male, there is something innocent and inviolable in them, and for that reason they seem to have been treated tenderly or tolerated. The delicacy and inoffensive matter of the myth have shielded it longer in popular legend.

The goddess Hellia has exchanged her personal meaning for a local one, that of hell. Ostara, Eástre, is preserved at least in the name of the high festival; and Hreda, if my conjecture be sound, in the word for a bride's gerada (outfit), as Zio was in the name of the sword. Folla and Sindgund have only come to light through the latest discoveries.

This muster of divinities is strong enough to support the whole remaining framework of mythology; where such pillars stand, any amount of superstructure and decoration may be taken for granted. Considered in and for themselves, almost all the individual deities appear emanations and branches of a single One; the gods as heaven, the goddesses as earth, the one as fathers, the other as mothers, the former creating, governing, guiding, lords of victory and bliss, of air, fire and water, the goddesses nourishing, spinning, tilling, beautiful, bedizened, loving.

As all the sounds of language are reducible to a few, from whose simplicity the rest can be derived—the vowels by broadening, narrowing, and combination into diphthongs, the mute consonants by subdivision of their three groups each into three stages, while particular dialects shift them from one stage to another in regular gradation[1];—so in Mythology I reduce the long array of divine personages to their unity, and let their multiplicity spring out of this unity; and we can hardly go wrong in assuming for deities and heroes a similar coincidence, combination and gradation, according to their characters and particular

[1] Thus, to take an example from the Dentals:



It will be seen that the High Germ. is always a stage in advance of Low Germ., and this a stage in advance of Greek, Latin, Sanskrit, &c. The Germ. *z* is sounded *ts*; and *s*, like *h*, is a breathing.—TRANS.

functions. How Wuotan, Donar, and Zio partly run into one another has been shewn; Logi (lowe, blaze) becomes Loki (lock, bolt), *g* becomes *k*, the sense of fire is exchanged for that of bolts and bars (of hell), as Hamar and Heru came to signify the implements they used. We have seen Wuotan reappear in long-bearded Charles, in red-bearded Frederick. On comparing the Norse hero-legend with the German, we see remarkable instances of this shifting and displacement of names and persons. Gudrun in the Edda occupies the place of our Krîmhilt, while Grîmhildr is her mother's name; in the Vilkinasaga Mîmir is the smith and Reginn the dragon, in the Völsungasaga Reginn is the smith and Fâfnir the dragon. If these changes took place at haphazard, there would be nothing in them; but they seem to proceed by regular gradation, without leaps.

Among all branches of the Teutonic race there shew themselves innumerable varieties of dialect, each possessing an equal right; so likewise in the people's religion we must presuppose a good many differences: the difficulty is to reconcile in every case the local bearings of the matter with the temporal. If the more numerous testimonies to Wuotan in Lower Germany would lead us to infer that he was held in higher esteem by Saxons than by Alemanns or Bavarians, we must remember that this (apparent) preference is mainly due to the longer continuance of heathenism in the north; that in the first few centuries after conversion the south too would have borne abundant witness to the god. Upper Germany has now scarcely a single name of a place compounded with Wuotan (p. 158), Wuotan's day has there given place to 'midweek,' and just there the legend of his 'wütende heer' is found more alive than elsewhere! It would be a great thing to ascertain whereabouts—whether among Goths—the designation Faírguneis prevailed above that of Thunrs. Any conclusion drawn from the proximity of the Lithuanian Perkunas, the Slavic Perun, may seem bold, though it is precisely to these two nations that the Gothic and High German incline more than the Low German, even in language: witness Hruodo and Kirt (p. 248). It seems an easier matter to trace the distinction between Zio

and Eru, and follow it up to Swabia and Bavaria; yet, if my conjecture be right, the Cheruscans must of all races have had the best claim to Eru. Even the name of the plant Ziolinta (p. 1193) is worth taking into account. Sahsnôt, Seaxneát, was assuredly an eponymous deity of the Saxons. How do Paltar and Phol stand to one another, as regards the nations that were devoted to them? Phol appears to point, now eastward, now westward. An important mark of distinction is the change of gender in the same name of a god among different tribes. In Gothic the masc. fráuja (lord) was still current as a common noun, in O.H. German the fem. frouwâ, in O. Saxon only the masc. frôho, frô, A.S. freá, so that Goths and Saxons seem to have preferred the god, High Germans the goddess; in the North both Freyr and Freyja are honoured alike. But the North knows only the god Niörðr, and the Germans living on the opposite side of the Baltic only the goddess Nerthus. The relation of Zio to Zisa, perhaps Isis (p. 298), demands further explanation. No doubt the numerous aliases of that female deity, who is not yet forgotten in modern legend, are due to differences of race: Holda shews herself in Hesse, Thuringia, and North Franconia, Berhta in Vogtland, East Franconia and sundry tracts of Swabia, where likewise a male Berhtold encounters us. There is no trace of either goddess in Lower Germany, but a dame Freke now turns up in the Mark, and dame Gaue haunts Mecklenburg between Elbe and Weser. Yet in ancient times Holda, as Huldana, must have reached far westward to the Rhine, and, if the Ver-hilden-stract (p. 285) was named after her, into the Netherlands, reminding us of the kinship between Chatti and Batavi; while the Carolingian Berhta Pedauca and the Biört of the Edda would betoken a similar extension of Berhta's worship. We must pay regard to the almost universal rush of nations toward the West: even Isis and her Suevian ship we managed to trace as far as the Ardennes.——But, beside the deities, other portions of mythology must also have their say. Himins and himil, himel and heven are discussed on p. 698, the lapse of Himil into Gimill on p. 823; in Hesse is the borderland between Wights

and Elves, the one belonging to Franconian, the other to Saxon soil: the Low Saxon hüne is out of use in High Germany, even in O.H. German the hûni seem to be only Huns, not giants, and the M.H. German hiune had a very limited circulation, being never heard now in Hesse, Swabia or Bavaria, unless we are to look for it in the name of the disease (p. 1163).

Such investigations and similar ones capable of indefinite expansion, some of them not even dreamt of at present, may gradually become important to the internal aspect of our own Mythology: a still more urgent task is, to establish its relation to the Religions of Other Nations; nay, this is really the hinge on which mythological study in general turns. But seldom have their mutual influences or differences been so successfully explored, as to educe therefrom a safe standard for the treatment of any one mythology.

Every nation seems instigated by nature to isolate itself, to keep itself untouched by foreign ingredients. Its language, its epos feel happy in the home circle alone; only so long as it rolls between its own banks does the stream retain its colour pure. An undisturbed development of all its own energies and inmost impulses proceeds from this source, and our oldest language, poetry and legend seem to take no other course. But the river has not only to take up the brooks that convey fresh waters to it from hill and mountain, but to disembogue itself at last in the wide ocean: nations border upon nations, and peaceful intercourse or war and conquest blend their destinies in one. From their combinations will come unexpected results, whose gain deserves to be weighed against the loss entailed by the suppression of the domestic element. If the language, literature and faith of our forefathers could at no time resist at all points the pressure of the Foreign, they have one and all undergone the most disruptive revolution by the people's passing over to Christianity.

We had long plagued ourselves to derive all languages from the far-off Hebrew; it was only by closely studying the history

of the European idioms near at hand, that a safe road was at length thrown open, which, leaving on one side for the moment the Semitic province, leads farther on into the heart of Asia. Between the Indian and Zendic languages and the majority of those which spread themselves over Europe there exists an immediate tie, yet of such a kind as makes them all appear as sisters, who at the outset had the same leading features, but afterwards, striking into paths of their own, have everywhere found occasion and reason to diverge from each other. Amongst all languages on earth points of contact are to be found, any discovered rule compels us to admit exceptions, and these exceptions are apt to be misleading; but the rule teaches us to fix upon fundamental distinctions, for which we can only expect a very slow resolution into a higher unity. While there is every appearance of Europe not having contained any aborigines, but received its population gradually from Asia, yet the figures in our chronologies do not reach back to the actual descent of all human speech from one original source; and the strata of our mountains bear witness to a higher prehistoric age, whose immeasurable breadth no inquirer can penetrate. Then, over and above the original kinship necessarily underlying the facts taught by comparative philology, we must also assume in the history of European tongues some external, accidental and manifest interchanges of influence between them, which, powerful and resultful as they may have been, are to be carefully distinguished from that more hidden agency: we have only to call to mind the former influence of Latin and the later of French on almost all the other languages, or the origin of English from a mixture of Teutonic and Romance elements. The difference between the two kinds of likeness shews itself especially in the fact that, while the originally cognate elements of a language remain flexible and intelligible, the borrowed ones, because they are borrowed, shew an indistinctness of form and a crippling of movement. Hence all cognate words are rooted in the essential life of a language, about which the borrowed ones mostly tell us nothing: how lifeless, for example, has our adj. rund become!

whereas the French rond, from which it comes, can still carry us back to roond, reond, the Span. redondo, It. rotondo, and so to rotundus, and therefore rota. Again, cognate forms are seldom confined to one stem or branch, but run impartially through several: *e.g.* our numerals; our ist, Goth. ist, Lat. est, Gr. ἐστί, Skr. asti; the Goth. sa, sô, þata, AS. se, seo, þæt, ON. sa, sû, þat, Gr. ὁ, ἡ, τό, Skr. sa, sâ, tad; all of them consonances which did not arise, like that 'rund,' at some definite assignable period, but were there from time immemorial.

These examples are well known, and are here chosen merely to make good for Mythology also a distinction between material that was common from the first and that which was borrowed and came in later. Our scholarship, disloyal to its country, inured to outlandish pomp and polish, loaded with foreign speech and science, miserably stocked with that of home, was prepared to subordinate the myths of our olden time to those of Greece and Rome, as something higher and stronger, and to overlook the independence of German poetry and legend, just as if in grammar also we were free to derive the German ist from est and ἐστί, instead of putting the claims of these three forms perfectly on a par. Giving the go-by to that really wonderful and delightful consonance, whose origin would have had to be pushed far back, they struggled, however much against the grain, to hunt up any possible occasions of recent borrowing, so as to strip their country of all productive power and pith. Not content even with handing over our mythology to foreign countries, they were eager, with as little reason, to shift its contents into the sphere of history, and to disparage essentially unhistoric elements by expounding them as facts.

Why hold our tongues about the mischief and the caprices of this criticism? Mone, an honest and able explorer, whose strenuous industry I respect, will often come half-way to meet the truth, then suddenly spring aside and begin worrying her. By hook or by crook the Reinhart of our apologue must be resolved into a historical one, the Siegfried of our heroic lay into Arminius, Civilis and Siegbert by turns, Tanhäuser into Ulysses.

In all that I had gathered by a careful comparison of original authorities on sorcery and witches, he of course can see neither circumspectness nor moderation, who gravely imagines that witchcraft was once a reality, who from the minutes of a single trial in 1628 jumps at once to the Greek Dionysia, makes the devil Dionysus, and warms up again the stale explanation of hexe (witch) from Hecate. This is allowing the devil a great antiquity in comparison with those heroes; to me Reinhart and Isengrim seem to reach up far higher than the ninth century, and Siegfried even beyond Arminius, therefore a long way before the time when the term devil first came into our language. Several designations of the giants are unmistakably connected with the names of surrounding nations; Mone's view applies them to Indians, Frisians, Persians, according as the words ent and wrise suit his purpose; let no one be startled to find that Caucasus comes from our Gouchsberg (cuckoo's hill)!

A later work, whose merits I acknowledge on p. 1070 n., comes in not unseasonably here. Soldan agrees in my opinion on the atrocity and folly of the witch-persecutions, but he would dispute the connection of witches with German mythology, and derive all our magic and demonology from the Greeks and Romans again. The resemblance of the mediæval notions to classical antiquity strikes him so forcibly, that he seems to think, either that Germany and all barbarian Europe till their early contact with the Romans were without any magic or belief in ghosts, or that such belief suddenly died out. The Walburgis-night, it seems, was suggested by Roman lares praestites, even the practice of bidding for fiefs by floralia and averruncalia, and the cutting of henbane by the fruges excantare: why may not our es also come from id, our auge from oculus, our zehn from decem? At that rate Wuotan might without more ado be traced back to Jupiter, Holda to Diana, the alp to the genius, all German mythology to Roman, and nothing be left us of our own but the bare soil that drank in the foreign doctrine.

When two nations resemble each other in language, manners, and religion, such agreement is welcome in proof of their age,

and is not to be perverted to conclusions in favour of borrowing or influence which any peculiarity in them may suggest. But the stamp of authority will be given to research, when side by side with the string of consonances there also runs an inevitable string of divergences and transpositions.

In our book of heroes the adventures of Wolfdieterich and Orendel have in their several ways a striking similarity to features in the Odyssey, especially does the angel's mission to shaggy Els and to lady Breide resemble that of Hermes to Calypso, when she is commanded to let Odysseus go. But such wanderings of heroes and encounters with wise women and giants seem to be a common epic property prevailing everywhere, while the very absence here of all the other main motives of the Greek myth excludes the supposition of borrowing. We may surely give their due weight to the many resemblances of Wuotan to Zeus and Apollo, of Zio to Zeus and Ares, we may recognise Nerthus in Demeter, Frigg and Freyja in Hera and Aphrodite, Wieland in Hephæstus and Dædalus, without the whole swarm of Grecian gods needing therefore to be transported to our soil, or all that this produced having to be looked for in Greece. Must 'honum hlô hugr î briosti' have somehow got into the Edda from Homer's ἐγέλασσε δέ οἱ φίλον ἦτορ? The distinction, drawn in Homer as well as the Edda, between the speech of gods and of men may signify something to us, and yet be no harder to explain than the identity of Zio with Zeus, or of Ζεὺς πατήρ with Allfather. It is beautiful how Venus and venustus are made intelligible by the ON. vænn and vænstr, and even by the O. Sax. superlative wânumo. What is true of the Greek and Roman mythologies, that with all their similarity they are yet far from identical, has to be asserted with still more emphasis of the relation between the Roman and German, inasmuch as Greek literature left an infinitely deeper dint on the Roman, than Latin literature was ever able to produce on our antiquity. If in ch. XXXV and XXXVII many things are quoted which appear to spring out of Roman superstition, it is fully justified by the poverty of native information compelling me to seek a support for it from abroad:

I do not suppose that the old German fancies about beasts crossing one's path, or about the virtues of herbs, were in themselves any poorer than the Roman.

What I claim for Teutonic nations as compared with the Greeks and Romans, must also hold good of them as regards the Celts, Slavs, Lithuanians and Finns, whose paganism was similar to ours or not so similar. Here however the quantity of coincidences is still more damaging to the theory of plagiarisms, which would else encumber every nook and corner.

In favour of the study of Celtic languages and legends a wholesome reaction has set in, insisting that this downtrodden race, which once occupied wide tracts of Germany, shall receive its due. By no means poor in memorials, it has an auxiliary resource in several living tongues, the Armoric, Welsh, Irish and Highland Scotch. But the paths still lie uncertain and slippery, and what we concede to the Celts ought not in the zeal of discovery to be turned against ourselves; in cases of resemblance what is genuinely German must put in its claim too. Now Heinrich Schreiber's interesting studies of grave-mounds, weapons and fays appear to me at times to stray beyond the true line: surely the horses' heads on roof-gables in Mecklenburg and Holstein are more undoubtedly German than the similar ones in Switzerland are Celtic; and so far as our elfins and white ladies extend, they have their justification, as the fays have on the other side. Some obscure names of animals Leo has, I think, succeeded in interpreting as Celtic; so long as he is obliged to leave the main characters in the fable German, as Reginhart and Isangrim, I have no fear for the genuineness of our epos; and the foreignness of subordinate characters tends to throw farther back the date of the entire poem. Also what he contributes to Nerthus and muspell (Haupt 3, 226) demands attention. Beside the fays, who answer to our swan-maidens, wish-wives and norns, beside Abundia, who resembles Folla (fulness), I attach importance to Taranis=Donar, to Gwydion=Wuotan, to Beal=Phol or Balder, and I am not sure but that Hesus is the same as Cheru, and that Segomon (p. 371) ought not to be overlooked. Needfires and May-offerings

are subjects for consideration. It would greatly advance our knowledge of Wuotan's true nature, if we could ascertain how far the Celtic worship of Mercury differed from the Roman; to all appearance that deity was greater to the Celts and Germans than Hermes-Mercury was to the Greeks and Romans; to Trismegistus and Tervagan I allude on p. 150. All that is left us of the Celtic religion, even in stray fragments, bespeaks a more finished mental culture than is to be found in German or Norse mythology; there comes out in it more of priestly lore. But in respect of genius and epic matter our memorials are incomparably superior.

As the Celts enclose us on the west, so do the Slavs on the east; and Slavic writers, like the Celtic, are rather fond, wherever their ancient faith coincides with ours, of interpreting things from a Slavic point of view, which can just as well be explained from a German. The affinity of the two races can be perceived at once by such old cognate words as the Gothic sunus (son), O.H. German sunu, Slavic syn; Goth. liubs (dear), OHG. liop, Boh. liby, Russ. liubo; Goth. láuþs (people), OHG. liut, Slav. liud; Goth. hláifs (loaf), OHG. hleip, Slav. khlêb. And the mythic resemblances are no less significant. Radegast must stand for Wuotan, Perun for Faírguneis, Fiörgunn, but Svatovit for Zio; between Radegast the god of bliss (rad glad, radost joy), and our Wish, the harmony is yet stronger. Kroto reminds us of Kirt, Molnia of Miölnir (pp. 1221. 813). How near the badniak of the Servians comes to our Christmas fire! their cuckoo-pole to the Langobardic dove-pole (p. 1135n.), their dodola to the fetching-in of rain (p. 594), the carrying-out of death to the fight of summer and winter, the vila to our wise-women! If the elf and dwarf legends appear less polished than they are among Celts and Germans, our giant legend on the other hand has much more in common with the Slavic and Finnic. No doubt Slav mythology altogether is several degrees wilder and grosser than German, yet many things in it will make a different figure when once the legends and fairy tales are more fully and faithfully gathered in, and the gain to German research also will be great.

From similar collections of Lithuanian, Samogitian and Lettish myths revelations no less important are impending, as we may anticipate from the remarkable connexion between the languages.

More results have already been attained in Finland, whose people, comparable in this to the Servians alone, have in their mouths to this day a most wonderful store of songs and tales, though in Servian poetry the heroic legend predominates, and in Finnic the myth. Merely by what Ganander, Porthan and now Lönnrot have published, an immense deal is bridged over between the German, Norse, Slav, Greek and Asiatic mythologies. Rask (in Afhand. 1, 96) had already derived some Norse names of giants from Finnic. And further, the distinction we made between legend and fairy-tale does not at all apply as yet to this Finnic poetry: it stands at an older stage, where the marvels of the fairy-tale without any sense of incongruity mingle with the firmer basis of the folk-tale, and even the animal fable can be admitted. Wäinämöinen (Esth. Wannemunne) can be compared to Wuotan both in general, and particularly in his character of Wish: the Finnic waino and wainotem signify desiderium, wainok cupidus, wainotet desiderare: the Swedish Lapps, with a kindred language, have waino (wish, desire), and the Norwegian Lapps vaimel cupidus. Thus Wish, Radegast and Wäinämöinen seem to be getting nearer to each other. This last is a god of poetry and singing (p. 907), he is constantly called Wanha, the old one, as the thunder-god Ukko likewise is called father or old, and his wife Akka mother or old. With the Lapps, Atia means both grandfather and thunder (see 'old daddy,' p. 168). As Thor's minni was drunk, so full bowls were emptied in honour of Ukko. Wäinämöinen wakes Wipune out of her grave (Rune 10), as Oðinn does Völa. Ilmarinen, the smith-god of the Finns, reminds us of Hephæstus and Völundr, but makes a deeper impression than either; he fashioned a wife for himself out of gold (conf. p. 570 n.). To the Lapps, Sarakka means creatress, from saret to create, a goddess of fortune.

All Finnish nations use Yumala as a general name for the

Supreme Being in the sense of our God or the Slavic Bôgh, to which corresponds the Swed. Lapp. yupmel, Norw. Lapp. ibmel; but the Syriän have also yen (gen. yenlon), the Permians en, the Votiaks inmar, the Tcheremiss yumn. Along the northern edge of Europe and over the Ural into northern Asia extends this widespread group of nations of the Finn kind, their languages and myths shewing everywhere a common character. The Votiaks, like the Slavs and Germans, hold the woodpecker sacred (p. 765); but what I lay special stress upon is the bear-worship of these nations, which has left its traces in Sweden and Norway, and betrays the earliest stage of our Teutonic beast-legend (p. 667). Poetic euphemisms designate the sacred beast, and as soon as he is slain, solemn hymns are struck up as by way of atonement. Runes 28 and 29 in Kalewala describe such a hunt with all its ceremonial. Ostiaks in taking an oath kneel on a bearskin, in heathen sacrifices they covered the victim with a bearskin (p. 1010), and long afterwards they hung bearskins about them in the service of the devil (p. 1018). As the bear was king of all beasts, the terms applied to him of 'old one' and 'grandfather' suggest those of the thunder-god. The constellation of the Great Bear (p. 725) would of itself seem an evident trace of his worship even among the Greeks.

Coming down from northern Asia to the tribes of the Caucasus, we again meet with the most remarkable coincidences. The Tcherkesses (Circassians) keep up a worship of the boar (p. 215), as did the ancient Aestyi and Germani. Both Tcherkesses and Ossets glorify the same Elias (p. 173-4, conf. p. 185) who is such a sacred personage to the Slav races. Even the ancient Alani and Scythians seem to be linked with the heathen Germans by their worship of the sword (p. 204); Attila means grandfather, and is among Huns as well as Germans a name for mountains. The same inspection of shoulder-blades that Jornandes relates of Huns goes on to this day among Kalmuks (p. 1113). A good many Mongolian customs agree with those of Celts and Germans: I will only instance the barleycorn's being the unit of all measurement of land (see my account of it in Berl. Jahrb. for 1842,

pp. 795-6); conf. the Finnic ohrasen yiveä = hordei granum, Kal. 17, 625. 27, 138.

A still closer agreement with our antiquities than exists among Finns and Mongols is to be looked for in the more cognate Zendic and Indian mythologies. That of India is finely wrought like the Greek, but I think the Greek has the same advantage over it that I awarded to the German as compared with the Celtic: a certain theosophic propensity betrays itself in the Indians as well as Celts, which in the fulness of Greek and German myth falls more into the background. It seems worthy of notice, that to the Indian gods and goddesses are assigned celestial dwellings with proper names, as in the Edda. Among the gods themselves, Brahma's creative power resembles Wuotan's, Indra is akin to Donar, being the wielder of lightning and the ruler of air and winds, so that as god of the sky he can also be compared to Zio. The unison of our Wish with the notion embodied in manoratha (p. 870) deserves attention. Nerthus answers to Bhavani (p. 255), Halja to Kâli, and Mannus to Manus (p. 578), the last two examples being letter for letter the same; but one thing that must not be overlooked is, that the same myth of man's creation out of eight materials (pp. 564—7) which has already turned up five times, appears in a portion of the Vedas, the Aitareya Aranya, from which an excerpt is given in Colebrooke's Misc. Essays, Lond. 1837, vol. 1, p. 47 seq.; here also eight ingredients are enumerated: fire, air, sun, space, herb, moon, death, and water. Naturally the details vary again, though even the five European accounts are not without a certain Indian colouring. Still more interesting perhaps is an echo that reaches the very heart of our hero-legend. Putraka (in Somadeva i. 19) comes upon two men who are fighting for some magic gifts, a cup, a staff, and a pair of shoes; he cheats them into running a race, steps into the shoes himself, and flies up into the clouds with the cup and staff. With the same adroitness Siegfried among the dwarfs manages the division of their hoard, upon which lies the wishing-rod (p. 457); and our nursery tales are full of such divisions (Altd. bl. 1, 297. KM. ed. 5, no. 193.

2, 502. Bechstein's Märchen p. 75). The same trick decides the quarrel in Asbiörnsen, no. 9, p. 59, and in the Hungarian tale, Gaal p. 166.

Now whence can these details have been imported into the homespun fairy-tale? Every country has them at its fingers' ends. To take another striking instance: the story of the three cousins (p. 415) who had spun till the nose of one grew long, another's eyes red, and another's fingers thick, is told still more vividly in Norway (Asb. and Moe, no. 13), and most vividly in Scotland (Chambers, p. 54-5). Or the changeling's unfailing formula (pp. 469. 927), was that conveyed from Denmark to Scotland, from Ireland to Hesse? Was the legend of the willow that has never heard a cock crow (p. 1243) handed over by the Romans to the Poles; and the myth of the thunder-bolt by the Greek to the Slav, by the Slav to the German? Did a little bird always pick up the legendary seed, and lug it over hill and dale to other lands? I believe Myth to be the common property of many lands, that all its ways are not yet known, but that it is properest to that nation with whose gods it closely coalesces, as a word common to several languages may best be claimed by that one which can explain its root. The legend of Tell relates no real event, yet, without fabrication or lying, as a genuine myth it has shot up anew in the bosom of Switzerland, to embellish a transaction that took hold of the nation's inmost being.

I do not deny for a moment, that beside this mysterious diffusion of myths there has also been borrowing from without, nay, that they could be purposely invented or imported, though it is a harder matter than one would imagine for this last sort to take root among the people. Roman literature has from early times spread itself over other European lands, and in certain cases it may be quite impossible to strike the balance between its influence and that inner growth of legend. And nowhere is extrinsic influence less a matter of doubt than where, by the collision of christian doctrine with heathenism among the

converted nations, it became unavoidable to abjure the old, and in its place to adopt or adapt what the new faith introduced or tolerated.

Oftentimes the Church—and I have specified sundry instances —either was from the outset, or gradually became, tolerant and indulgent. She prudently permitted, or could not prevent, that heathen and christian things should here and there run into one another; the clergy themselves would not always succeed in marking off the bounds of the two religions; their private leanings might let some things pass, which they found firmly rooted in the multitude. In the language, together with a stock of newly imported Greek and Latin terms, there still remained, even for ecclesiastical use, a number of Teutonic words previously employed in heathen services, just as the names of gods stood ineradicable in the days of the week; to such words old customs would still cling, silent and unnoticed, and take a new lease of life. The festivals of a people present a tough material, they are so closely bound up with its habits of life, that they will put up with foreign additions, if only to save a fragment of festivities long loved and tried. In this way Scandinavia, probably the Goths also for a time, and the Anglo-Saxons down to a late period, retained the heathenish Yule, as all Teutonic Christians did the sanctity of Eastertide; and from these two the Yule-boar and Yule-bread, the Easter pancake, Easter sword, Easter fire and Easter dance could not be separated. As faithfully were perpetuated the name and in many cases the observances of Midsummer. New christian feasts, especially of saints, seem purposely as well as accidentally to have been made to fall on heathen holidays. Churches often rose precisely where a heathen god or his sacred tree had been pulled down, and the people trod their old paths to the accustomed site: sometimes the very walls of the heathen temple became those of the church, and cases occur in which idol-images still found a place in a wall of the porch, or were set up outside the door, as at Bamberg cathedral there lie Slavic-heathen figures of animals inscribed with runes. Sacred hills and fountains were re-christened after saints,

to whom their sanctity was transferred; sacred woods were handed over to the newly-founded convent or the king, and even under private ownership did not altogether lose their long-accustomed homage. Law-usages, particularly the ordeals and oath-takings, but also the beating of bounds, consecrations, image-processions, spells and formulas, while retaining their heathen character, were simply clothed in christian forms. In some customs there was little to change: the heathen practice of sprinkling a newborn babe with water (vatni ausa p. 592, dicare p. 108, line 5) closely resembled christian baptism, the sign of the hammer that of the cross, and the erection of tree-crosses the irmensûls and world-trees of paganism. Still more significant must appear that passage where Völuspâ and the Bible coincide (p. 811); in the far later Sôlar-lioð traces of christian teaching are discernible.

In a conflux of so many elements it could not but happen, even where the mental conceptions and views of a simple populace unable to do without myths had felt the full force of the revolution, that in its turn the Old, not wholly extinct, should half unconsciously get interwoven with the irrepressible New. Jewish and christian doctrine began to lean towards heathen, heathen fancies and superstitions to push forward and, as it were, take refuge in all the places they found unoccupied by the new religion. Here we find christian material in a heathen form, there heathen matter in a christian disguise.

As the goddess Ostara was converted into a notion of time, so was Hellia into one of place. The beliefs of our forefathers about elves and giants got intensified and expanded into angels and devils, but the legends remained the same. Wuotan, Donar, Zio, Phol put on the nature of malignant diabolic beings, and the story of their solemn yearly visitation shaped itself into that of a wild rabble rout, which the people now shunned with horror, as formerly they had thronged to those processions.

Veiled under the biblical names of Cain, Elias, Enoch, Antichrist, Herodias, there come into view the same old myths about moon-spots, giants' buildings, a god of thunder and of storm, the

gracious (holde) night-dame and the burning of the world. And what arrests our attention still more is, that to the Virgin Mary we apply a whole host of charming legends about Holda and Frouwa, norns and valkyrs, as the Romans did those about Venus, Juno and the parcae; nay, in the fairy-tale, dame Holle and Mary can usurp the place of gray-hatted Wuotan. What a tender fragrance breathes in those tales of Mary, and what has any other poetry to put by the side of them? To the kindly heathen traits is superadded for us that sense of superior sanctity which encompasses this Lady. Herbs and flowers are named after Mary, her images are carried about, and, quite in accordance with the heathen worship, installed on forest trees. She is a divine mother, she is a spinning-wife, she appears as maid of mercy (vierge secourable) to whosoever calls upon her. To the country folk in Italy, Mary stands well in the foreground of their religion; the Madonnas of several churches in Naples are looked upon as so many different divine beings, and even as rivals, and a Santa Venere by their side gives no offence. Three Marys together (p. 416, note) resemble the three norns and three fays; Mary carries stones and earth in her apron (p. 537) like Athena or the fay. The worship of Mary altogether, being neither founded on Scripture nor recognised by the first centuries, can only be explained by the fact of those pretty and harmless but heathen fancies having taken such deep root in the people that the Church also gradually combined with them a more daintily devised and statelier devotion (attentio) which we find woven into numerous legends and sermons.

But Mary does not stand alone by a long way. Immediately at her side there has grown up in the Catholic and Greek churches an interminable adoration of Saints, to make up for heathen gods of the second or third rank, for heroes and wise-women, and to fill the heart by bridging the gulf between it and pure Deity. Dogma may distinguish between Deity and intercessors; but how many a pious lip, moving in prayer before the sacred image, must be unaware of this distinction, or forget it! And further, among the saints themselves there are various

grades, and the particular troubles under which they can be of service are parcelled out among them like so many offices and lines of business, so that almost every disease and its remedy are called by the name of their saint; this division of tasks has the strongest analogy to the directions given in Norse and Lithuanian mythology for the invocation of the several deities (p. 335). The victorious hero who had slain the dragon made room for Michael or George; and the too pagan Siegberg (p. 198), which may have meant the same as Eresberg (p. 201), was handed over to Michael, as the mons Martis in France was turned into a mons martyrum, Montmartre. It is remarkable that the Ossets have converted the dies Martis into Georgeday, and dies Veneris into Mary's day (Pott 1, 105. 2, 802). The places of Odinn and of Freyja in minni-drinking are taken by John and by Gertrude, a saint who in other ways also has changed places with the goddess (pp. 61. 305. 673); but we can easily see why the heathen counterpart to a saint's legend is oftener to be found in the Roman than in our German mythology. The Church in her saints and canonizations had not the wit to keep within bounds, and the disproportion comes out most glaringly in the fact that the acts and miracles of the Saviour and his apostles are in some cases outdone by those of the saints. Whoever would push these investigations further, as they deserve to be pushed, will have to take particular notice, what saints are the first to emerge in the popular faith of any country, and which of them in poems and in forms of benediction have gradually slipt into the places of the old gods.

Here let me illustrate the more or less thorough interpenetration and commingling of Christian and heathen legend by two examples, which seem to me peculiarly important.

It must be regarded as one of the original possessions common to our mythologies, that the God, or two gods, or three, descend from heaven to earth, whether to prove men's works and ways (p. 337), or in search of adventures. This does violence to the christian belief in God's omnipresence and omniscience; but it

is a very pleasing fancy, that of the gods in person walking the earth unrecognised, and dropping in at the houses of mortals. Even the Odyssey 17, 485-7 alludes to such wanderings, in which is found the loftiest consecration of hospitality: a man will be loth to turn away a stranger, under whose guise a celestial god may be visiting him. A Greek myth with details appears in the story of Orion: three gods, Zeus, Poseidon, Hermes (some say Zeus, Ares, Hermes = Donar, Zio, Wuotan) take lodging with Hyrieus, and after being feasted, give him leave to ask a favour; he wishes for a son, and they create him one much in the same way as Kvâsir was engendered (p. 902, conf. 1025n.). Ovid's Fasti 5, 495—535. Hyginus 195 relates the same fable of the Thracian Byrseus. In the beautiful legend of Philemon and Baucis (Ovid's Met. 8, 626—721), Jupiter and Mercury are travelling, and reward their kind entertainers by saving them from the impending deluge (p. 580); a fable of Phaedrus makes the divine messenger alone, the god of roads and highways, pass the night with mortals (Mercurium, hospitio mulieres olim duae illiberali et sordido receperant). But Demeter also is at times represented as travelling and associating with men, as would be natural for all mothers of gods; Aesop in Fab. 54 makes Demeter travel with a swallow and an eel, but when they came to a river the bird flew up, the fish slipt into the water, and what did Demeter do? With the Indians it is principally Brahma and Vishnu that visit the earth. In a Lithuanian legend Perkunos walks the earth at the time when beasts yet spoke; he first met the horse, and asked his way. 'I have no time to shew thee the way, I have to eat.' Hard by was an ox grazing who had heard the traveller's request: 'Come, stranger,' he cried, 'I will shew thee the way to the river.' Then said the god to the horse: 'As thou couldst not for eating find time to do me a turn of kindness, thou shalt for a punishment be never satisfied;' then to the ox: 'Thou good-natured beast shalt conveniently appease thy hunger, and after chew the cud at thine ease, for thou wert ready to serve me.' This myth likewise inculcates kindness to the stranger, and for Perkunos subsequent narrators could without

scruple substitute the Saviour. In the Edda it is always Oðinn, Loki and Hœnir that go on journeys together, the same three Ases that also co-operate in creating (p. 560), for Loðr and Loki are apparently one (p. 241), and in this connexion Loki has nothing base or bad about him. Hœnir is called in Sn. 106 sessi, sinni, mâli Oðins (sodalis, comes, collocutor Odini). These three Ases set out on a journey, and at night seek a lodging; in the stories preserved to us no mention is made of a trial of hospitality. In a later saga Oðinn with Loki and Hœnir rides to the chase (Müller's Sagabibl. 1, 364); and a remarkable lay of the Faröe Isles (Lyngbye pp. 500 seq.) presents the same three, Ouvin, Höner and Lokkji, not indeed as travelling, but as succouring gods, who when called upon immediately appear, and one after the other deliver a boy whom giant Skrujmsli is pursuing, by hiding him, quite in fairy-tale fashion, in an ear of barley, a swan's feather, and a fish's egg. There were doubtless many more stories like this, such as the Norwegian tale in Asbiörn. no. 21, conf. p. 423. As bearing upon their subsequent transference, it must not be overlooked that in Fornm. sög. 9, 56. 175 Oðinn on horseback calls one evening at a blacksmith's, and has his horse shod; his identity with Hermes becomes quite startling in these myths. At other times however it is Thôrr with his heavy hammer (p. 180) that seeks a lodging, like Zeus, and when he stays the night at the peasant's, Loki accompanies Thôrr (Sn. 49); then again Heimdallr, calling himself Rîgr, traverses the world, and founds the families of man. The Finnish legend makes Wäinämöinen, Ilmarinen and Lemminkainen travel (rune 23), quite on a par with Oðinn, Loki, and Hœnir.

If now we look from these heathen myths to those in a christian dress and of a later time, the connexion between them can be no enigma: that of Perkunos changing into the Saviour has already set us the key. Either Christ and Peter journey out together, or one of the two alone; the fable itself turns about in more than one direction. Antique above all sounds the visit of these godlike beings, like that of Oðinn, to the blacksmith, and here the rewarding of hospitality is not left out. In the Norw.

tale no. 21, the Saviour, after he has far surpassed his host in feats of skill, yet places three wishes at his disposal, the very same that were allowed the smith of Jüterbok: compare also Kinderm. no. 147, the Netherl. story of Smeke in Wolf's Wodana p. 54 seq., and H. Sachs iv. 3, 70. But in Kinderm. 82, though the player, like the smith, asks for the tree from which one cannot get down, the main point with him is the dice, and the bestowal of them cannot but remind us of Wuotan the inventor of dice (p. 150. 1007), and again of Mercury. In H. Sachs ii. 4, 114 it is only Peter that bestows the wishing-die on a landsknecht at work in the garden. But the Fabliau St. Pierre et le jongleur (Méon 3, 282) relates how the juggler fared after death in hell; though nothing is said of travelling or gift-giving, yet Peter coming down from heaven in a black beard and smug moustaches and with a set of dice, to win from the showman the souls entrusted to his keeping, has altogether the appearance of Wuotan, who is eager, we know, to gather souls into his dwelling; and that tailor who hurled the leg of a chair out of heaven (p. 136) had been admitted by Peter. Then another group of legends betrays a new feature, full of significance to us. The Saviour and Peter are travelling together, Peter has to dress the dinner, and he bites a leg off the roast chicken (Wolf's Wodana, p. 180); in the Latin poem of Heriger, belonging to the tenth century, Peter is called in so many words head-cook of heaven, and a droll fellow secretly eats a piece of lung off the roast, as in Märchen no. 81 brother Lustig, travelling with Peter, steals the heart of the roast lamb, and elsewhere the landsknecht or the Swabian steals the liver. This seems to be all the same myth, for the circumstance that Peter plays by turns the culprit and the god whose attendant is in fault, may itself be of very old date: even the heathen stories may have made Oðinn and Loki change places. Loki is all the more a cook, a roast-stealer, and therefore on a line with Peter, as even the Edda imputes to him the eating of a heart (the suspected passage in Sæm. 118^{b} I emend thus: 'Loki ât hiarta lundi brenda, fann hann hâlfsviðinn hugstein konu,' Lokius comedit cor in nemore assum, invenit semiustum

mentis-lapidem mulieris), and in our ancient beast-fable the sly fox (Loki still) carries off the stag's heart half-roasted (Reinh. xlviii. lii).—Nor does this by any means exhaust the stock of such tales of travel. Hans Sachs 1, 492 made up a poem in 1557 (and Burc. Waldis 4, 95 before him in 1537) how Peter journeying with Christ wished in the pride of his heart to rule the world, and could not so much as manage the goat which the Lord had given into his hands for one day; again 1, 493 how they arrived at a parting of the roads, and asked their way of a lazy workman lying in the shade of a peartree, who gave them a gruff answer; then they came upon a maidservant, who was toiling in the sweat of her brow, but, on being asked, immediately laid her sickle down, and saw the Lord into the right road: 'be this maid,' said the Saviour to Peter, 'assigned to none other but that man,' (in Agricola, Spr. 354, the maid is idle and the man industrious). This recalls not only Perkunos with the horse and ox, but the norns or fays passing through the land in the legend quoted on p. 409. Old French poems give the part of short-sighted Peter to the hermit who escorts an angel through the world (Méon, Nouv. rec. 2, 116, and pref. to tome 1); from Mielcke's Lith. sprachl. p. 167 I learn that the same version prevails in Samogitia, and the Gesta Romanor. cap. 80 tell of the angelus et eremita. As the gods lodged with Philemon and Baucis, so does a dwarf travelling in the Grindelwald with some poor but hospitable folk, and protects their little house from the flood (DS. no. 45); in Kinderm. 87 God Almighty lodges with the poor man, and allows him three wishes; to Rügen comes the old beggar-man (=Wuotan), gets a night's lodging from a poor woman, and on leaving in the morning lets her dabble in the wishing business, which turns out ill for the envious neighbour. Thiele (Danmarks folkesagn 2, 306) finds the very same myth in Fünen, and here the traveller is Peter again: the Norwegian tale makes the Lord God and Peter come to dame Gertrude and turn the stingy thing into a bird (p. 673). There is a popular joke about Christ and Peter being on a journey, and the Saviour creating the first Bohemian; and a Netherl. tale

(Wodana p. xxxvii) about their putting up at an ogre's house in a wood, and being concealed by his compassionate wife, an incident that occurs in many other tales.

Afzelius (Sagohäfder 3, 155), while he proves the existence of these legends of Christ and Peter in Sweden also, is certainly wrong in pronouncing them mere fabricated drolleries, not founded on popular belief. They are as firmly grounded as anything can be on primitive traditions, and prove with what fidelity the people's memory has cared for our mythology, while MHG. poets despise these fables which they could have sung so admirably, just as they leave on one side dame Berhte and Holde and in general what is of home growth. Yet a couple of allusions may prove, if proof it needs, that this dressing up of the old myth was in vogue as early as the 13th century: Rumelant (Amgb. 12ª) relates of Christ and Peter, how they came to a deep rivulet into which a man had fallen, who was doing nothing to help himself; and a nameless poet (Mone's Anz. 5, 192) tells of a woodcutter whom Peter was trying to hoist into heaven by his mallet, but when on the topmost rung, the mallet's handle came off, and the poor man dropt into hell. The pikeman or blacksmith in the fairy-tale got on better by flinging his knapsack or apron (sledgehammer in Asbiörnsen p. 136 is still more archaic) into heaven. Of course these wanderings of the Saviour and one of his disciples have something in common with the journeys of Jesus and his apostles in Judea, the dwarf visitor might be compared to the angels who announced God's mercies and judgments to Abraham and Lot, as Philemon and Baucis have a certain resemblance to Abraham and Sarah; but the harmony with heathen legend is incomparably fuller and stronger. The angels were simply messengers; our mythology, like the Greek and Indian, means here an actual avatâra of Deity itself.

Another example, of smaller compass, but equally instructive as to the mingling of christian with heathen ideas, may be drawn from the old legend of Fruoto. The blissful birth of the Saviour, the new era beginning with him, were employed in drawing pictures of a golden age (p. 695. 793 n.) and the state of happiness

and peace inseparable from it. The Roman Augustus, under whom Christ was born, closed the temple of Janus, and peace is supposed to have reigned all over the earth. Now the Norse tradition makes its mythic Frôði likewise contemporary with Augustus, Frôði whose reign is marked by peace and blessedness, who made captive giantesses grind heaps of gold for him (p. 531. 871), and had bracelets deposited on the public highway without any one laying hands on them. The poets call gold 'miöl Frôða,' Fruoto's meal (Sn. 146), to explain which phrase the poem Grôttasaungr is inserted in the Edda; and in Sæm. 151ª occurs: 'sleit Frôða frið fianda â milli.' Rymbegla says, in his time the fields bore crops without being sown (it is the blessed Sampo-period of the Finns), and metal was found everywhere in the ground; nature joined in extolling the prince, as she does in lamenting his death (p. 591). When Helgi was born, eagles uttered a cry, and holy waters streamed down from the hills of heaven (Sæm. 149ª); in the year of Hâkon's election the birds, we are told, bred twice, and twice the trees bore, about which the Hâk. Hâkonarsaga cap. 24 has some beautiful songs. Hartmann, a monk of St. Gall, sings on the entry of the king: 'Haec ipsa gaudent tempora, floreque verno germinant, adventus omni gaudio quando venit optatior.' So deep a feeling had the olden time for a beloved king. And Beda 2, 16 thus describes king Eádwine's time: 'Tanta eo tempore pax in Britannia fuisse perhibetur, ut, sicut usque hodie in proverbio dicitur, etiamsi mulier una cum recens nato parvulo vellet totam perambulare insulam a mari ad mare, nullo se laedente valeret. Tantum rex idem utilitati suae gentis consuluit, ut plerisque in locis, ubi fontes lucidos juxta publicos viarum transitus construxit, ibi ob refrigerium viantium erectis stipitibus aereos caucos suspendi juberet, neque hos quisquam nisi ad usum necessarium contingere prae magnitudine vel timoris ejus auderet vel amoris vellet.' And of several other kings the tale is told, that they exposed precious jewels on the public road. Mildness and justice were the highest virtues of rulers, and 'mild' signified both mitis and largus, munificus. Frôði was

called the fêmildi (bountiful); 'frôði' itself includes the notion of sagacity. When the genealogies and legends make several kings of that name follow one another, they all evidently mean the same (conf. p. 348). Saxo Gramm. 27 makes his first Frotho sprinkle ground gold on his food, which is unmistakably that 'Frôða miöl' of Snorri; the second is called 'frœkni,' vegetus; it is not till the reign of the third, who fastens a gold bracelet on the road, that the Saviour is born (p. 95).

But this myth of the mild king of peace must formerly have been known outside of Scandinavia, namely, here in Germany, and in Britain too. For one thing, our chroniclers and poets, when they mention the Saviour's birth, break out, like Snorri and Saxo, in praises of a peaceful Augustan age; thus Godfrey of Viterbo p. 250:

> Fit gladius vomer, fiunt de cuspide falces,
> Mars siluit, pax emicuit, miles fuit auceps;
> nascentis Christi tempore pax rediit.

Wernher's Maria, p. 160:

Dô wart ein chreftiger fride,	Then befel a mighty peace,
diu swert versluogen die smide,	smiths converted their swords,
bediu spieze und sper;	both pikes and spears;
dô ne was dehein her	then was there no army
daz iender des gedæhte	that anywhere thought
daz ez strite oder væhte,	of striving and fighting,
dô ne was niht urliuge	then was no war
bî des meres piuge,	by the sea's margin,
noch enhein nîtgeschelle.	nor any sound of hate.
Mit grôzer ebenhelle	In great unison
und harte fridlîche	and right peacefully
stuonden elliu rîche.	stood all kingdoms.

And p. 193: Aller fride meiste
mit des keisers volleiste
der wart erhaben und gesworn
dô Christ was geborn.

Compare En. 13205—13, and Albrecht of Halberstadt's Prologue, which also says that Augustus

> machte sô getânen fride (perfect peace)
> daz man diu swert begunde smide
> in segense (scythes), und werken hiez
> zuo den sicheln den spiez.

It is true, none of these passages make any reference to Fruoto; but how could the 'milte Fruote von Tenemarke' have got so firm a footing in our heroic lays of Gudrun and the Rabenschlacht, and in the memory of our Court-poets (MS. 2, 221^b, 227^b, Conr. Engelhart, and Helbl. 2, 1303. 7, 366. 13, 111) without some express legend to rest upon? This I had a presentiment of on p. 532 from our proper names Fanigolt, Manigolt (fen-gold, bracelet-gold); conf. Haupt's pref. to Engelh. p. x. And what is more, the Austrian weisthümer (3, 687. 712) require by way of fine a shield full of ground gold; and filling shields with gold meant being liberal. The folk-song in Uhland 1, 76-7 makes the mill grind gold and love. How else to explain gold-grinding and gold-meal I cannot divine.

I could multiply such examples; I could also, if the task were not reserved for others or another occasion, shew in detail that the same mythic basis, which must be assumed for our own heroic lays, was not foreign either to the Carolingian poetry, the product mainly of a German tribe, or even to the British. Arthur belongs to the 'wild host' and the 'heaven's wain,' Morgana coincides with norns and elfins. A great deal nearer still stands Charles with his heroes: he is the Long-beard that sleeps in the mountain and rides on the Karl-wain, his Karlstone is the same as the Woden-stone (p. 155), Roland stands on the pillar, Froberge reminded us of Frô (p. 216), and Galans, who plies the forge for these Frankish heroes, is Wayland, Wielant, Völundr. Berthe with the foot, progenitress of Charles, is our Berhta (p. 429); and, attached to her, stand Flore and Blanchefleur with their elvish names (p. 1063). Charles's loved one was an elfin (p. 435), Auberon is Elberich and elf-king; and

Maugis, Malagis=Madalgis, borders on the elvish. Charles's hall resembles that of Asgard (p. 1133n.).

If these investigations have not been a sheer waste of time (and to me it seemed worth the trouble to look into the affairs of our antiquity from all sides), I may now at length attempt an answer to questions, or some of them at least, as to what is the true fundamental character of Teutonic mythology.

Judged by the standard of those mythologies that completed their career from beginning to end, notably the Greek (with which nevertheless it has so many important features in common), it will bear no comparison, if only for the reason that it was interrupted early, before it had produced all that it could have produced. As to our language and poetry, they were sensibly disturbed and hindered too, but they lived on, and could acquire a new impetus; the heathen faith was cut down to the root, and its poor remains could only save themselves by stealth under a new guise. Crude, unkempt it cannot but appear, yet the crude has its simplicity, and the rough its sincerity.

In our heathen mythology certain ideas stand out strong and clear, of which the human heart especially has need, by which it is sustained and cheered. To it the highest god is a father (p. 22), a good father, gofar (p. 167), gaffer, grandfather, who grants salvation and victory to the living, and to the dead an entrance to his dwelling. Death is a going home, a return to the father (p. 839). By the side of the god stands the highest goddess as a mother (p. 22), gammer, grandmother, wise and white ancestress. The god is exalted, the goddess beaming with beauty; both go their rounds and appear in the land, he instructing in war and weapons, she in spinning, weaving, sowing of seed; from him comes the poem, from her the tale. The same paternal authority is deeply stamped on our ancient law, the father taking the newborn son on his lap and acknowledging him; but what we read in some only of our ancient codes, may have been the rule everywhere, namely, that the composition paid to women was originally a higher, a double

one. The German reverence for woman was already known to Tacitus (p. 397), and history vouches for it in the Mid. Ages: in the heroic lays a greater stress is laid on Mother Uote than on the father of the heroes, as Brunhild towers even above Siegfried (see Suppl.). By the side of the beautiful description of mother's love in the Vita Mahthildis (Pertz 6, 298) we can put this touch by Rudlieb 1, 52: 'Ast per cancellos post hunc pascebat ocellos Mater,' as her son was departing. Whenever in dry old Otfried I come to the lines iv. 32: wir sîn gibot ouh wirkên, inti bî unsa muater thenkên (we his bidding also do, and of our mother think), it moves me to melancholy, I don't know whether he meant the church, or her that bore him, I think of my own dear mother (Dorothea Grimm, b. 20 Nov. 1755, d. 27 May 1808). Another thing also we learn from the oldest history of our people, that modesty and virtue had never fled from the land; beside Tacitus, we may rely on Salvian (5th cent.) as the most unimpeachable of witnesses. Refined grace might be wanting, nay, it has often retired before us, and been washed out of remembrance; to the Greeks Apollo, Pallas, Aphrodite stood nearer, their life was brighter like their sky. Yet Frô and Frouwa appear altogether as kind and loving deities, in Wuotan I have produced the god of song, and as Wish he may have been a god of longing and love. However many blossoms of our old mythology and poetry may lie undisclosed and withered, one thing will not escape the eye of a judge, that our poesy still has virgin forms and unlaboured adornment at her command, which, like certain plants, have disappeared from hotter climes.

When the plastic and poetic arts have sprung out of a people's faith, they adorn and protect it by imperishable works; yet another fact must not be overlooked, that both poets and artists insensibly deviate from the sanctity of the old type, and adopt an independent treatment of sacred subjects, which, ingenious as it may be, mars the continuity of tradition. The tragedians will alter for their own ends what epic had handed down entire; the sculptors, striving after naked forms of beauty,

will, in favour of it, sacrifice if need be the significant symbol; as they can neither bring in all the features of the myth, nor yet find the whole of them sufficient, they must omit some things and add others. Sculpture and the drama aim at making the gods more conceivable to the mind, more human; and every religion that is left free to unfold itself will constantly fall back upon man and the deepest thoughts he is capable of, to draw from them a new interpretation of the revealed. As in statues the rigid attitude unbent itself and the stiff folds dropt away, so devotion too in her converse with deity will not be needlessly shackled. In the same way language, even in the hands of poets, declines from the sensuous perfection of poetry to the rational independence of prose.

The grossness that I spoke of would have disappeared from the heathen faith had it lasted longer, though much of the ruggedness would have remained, as there is in our language something rough-hewn and unpolished, which does not unfit it for all purposes, and qualifies it for some. There goes with the German character a thoughtful earnestness, that leads it away from vanity and brings it on the track of the sublime. This was noticed even by Tacitus, whose words, though discussed in the book (p. 70-1, 104-5), will bear repeating: 'Ceterum nec cohibere parietibus deos, neque in ullam humani oris speciem assimilare, ex magnitudine coelestium arbitrantur. Lucos ac nemora consecrant, deorumque nominibus appellant secretum illud, quod sola reverentia vident.' This is no empty phrase, this 'arbitrantur' and 'appellant' must have come of inquiries, which a Roman, if he wished to understand anything of the Germani, had first of all to set a-going. That is how it actually was in Germany at that time, such answer had German men given, when asked about the temples and images of their gods. Temples are first built to hold statues: so long as these were not, neither were those. Anything mentioned in later centuries, or occurring by way of exception among particular tribes, seems to have been corruption and confusion, to which there was no want of prompting. All the Scandinavian temples and idols

fall into this later time, or they have their reason in the difference of race.

That notable piece of insight shows us the whole germ of Protestantism. It was no accident, but a necessity, that the Reformation arose first in our country, and we should long ago have given it our undivided allegiance, had not a stir been made against it from abroad. It is remarkable how the same soil of Old-German faith in Scandinavia and Britain proved receptive of Protestant opinion; and how favourable to it a great part of France was, where German blood still held its ground. As in language and myth, so in the religious leanings of a people there is something indestructible.

Gods, *i.e.* a multiplication of the one supreme incomprehensible Deity, could only be conceived of by Germans as by others under a human form (p. 316), and celestial abodes like earthly houses are ascribed to them. But here comes a difference, in this reluctance to exhibit the immeasurable (that magnitudo coelestium) in visible images, and confine it between earthly walls. To make a real portrait of Deity is clean impossible, therefore such images are already prohibited in the Old Test. decalogue; Ulphilas renders εἴδωλον by galiug or galiuga-guð (lie-god), meaning that any representation of a god was a lie; and the first christian centuries abhorred image-worship, though it gradually found its way into the church again. The statues of Greek gods, we know, proceeded originally from a sacred type, which only by degrees became more secular; the paintings of the Mid. Ages, and even Raphael's great soul-stirring compositions, for want of such a type, were obliged to invent their figures, the legend from which artists chiefly drew their subjects being already song or story; accordingly these pictures stand lower than the works of Greek art, and the spirit of Protestantism insists on their being bundled out of the churches. But if our heathen gods were imagined sitting on mountains and in sacred groves, then our medieval churches soaring skyward as lofty trees, whose sublime effect is unapproached by any Greek pediments and pillars, may fairly be referable to that Old

German way of thinking. Irmansûl and Yggdrasill were sacred trees, rearing their heads into the breezes: the tree is the steed (drasill, the snorter) on which Wuotan, the bodeful thrill of nature, stormfully careers: Yggr signifies shudder, thrill of terror (p. 120, and Suppl.). By the Old German forest-worship I also explain the small number of the priests, who only begin to multiply in temples entrusted to their charge.

Of all forms of belief, the Monotheistic is at once the most agreeable to reason and the most honouring to Deity. It also seems to be the original form, out of whose lap to a childlike antiquity Polytheism easily unfolded itself, by the loftiest attributes of the one God being conceived first as a trilogy, then as a dodecalogy. This arrangement comes out in all the mythologies, and especially clear, I think, in ours: almost all the gods appear unequal in rank and power, now superior, now subordinate, so that, mutually dependent, they must all at last be taken as emanations of a highest and only One. What is offensive in polytheism is thereby diminished (p. 176). For even in the heathen breast a consciousness of such subordination could hardly be quite extinct, and the slumbering faith in a highest god might wake up any moment.

To point out these groups of deities from our half dried-up sources was beyond my power, but the threes and twelves of the Edda are indicated, p. 335. The Greeks however differ in having only one twelve, consisting of six gods and six goddesses, while of the âses and âsynjas there are twelve each, making together twice as many deities as the Greek. Twelve chairs are set for the gods sitting in council (p. 858). Sometimes the highest god has twelve inferiors added to him, which raises the total by one: Loki is called the thirteenth among the gods, and Gnâ among the goddesses. Snorri 211^{b} names thirteen âses, and even more âsynjas. These triads and twelves of the gods are reflected again in the heroes and wise-women: Mannus begot three sons, heads of races (p. 345. 395), Heimdall founded three orders, the Ynglînga saga 2, 7 calls Oðin's fellow-gods his twelve princes (höfdîngjar); Westmar has twelve sons (Saxo

Gram. p. 68); there were thirteen valkyrs (p. 421), and three norns. In Welf's retinue are twelve heroes (p. 395); king Charles's twelve might indeed be traced to the twelve apostles, and the poem itself points to that, but the same thing is found in numberless myths and legends. The might of the godlike king flashes forth yet again in his heroes.

To my thinking, Polytheism almost everywhere arose in innocent unconsciousness: there is about it something soft and agreeable to the feelings; but it will, when the intellect is roused, revert to the Monotheism from which it started. No one taunts the Catholic doctrine with teaching many gods, yet one can see in what respect Catholics stand in the same relation to heathens as Protestants do to Catholics. Heathenism bowed before the power of pure Christianity; in course of time heathenish movements broke out in the church afresh, and from these the Reformation strove to purify it. The polytheistic principle, still working on, had fastened on two points mainly, the worship of saints, of which I have spoken, and that of relics (conf. GDS. p. 149). A stifling smell of the grave pervades the medieval churches and chapels from an adoring of dead bones, whose genuineness and miraculous power seem rarely well attested, and sometimes quite impossible. The weightiest affairs of life, oath-takings, illnesses, required a touching of these sanctities, and all historical documents bear witness to their widely extended use, a use justified by nothing in the Bible, and alien to primitive Christianity (conf. p. 1179). But in idololatria and saint-worship the dominion of the priesthood found its main stay.

Of Dualism proper I have acquitted our heathenism (pp. 895-6. 984). Unlike Polytheism, it seems to me to take its rise, not in gradual corruption, but in conscious, perhaps moral, reflexion, and at a later time. Polytheism is tolerant and friendly; he to whom all he looks at is either heaven or hell, God or devil, will both extravagantly love and heartily hate. But here again let me repeat, that to the heathen Germans the good outweighed the bad, and courage faintheartedness: at death they laughed.

Between deifying much and deifying all, it is hard to draw the

line, for even the most arrant Pantheism will admit some exceptions. The limit observed by the Greek and even the Norse religion appears in those sets of twelve; Personification indeed, on which I have inserted a chapter, seems to dip into the domain of Pantheism; yet when elements and implements are thought of as divine, they scarcely mean more than our old acquaintances, the gods, presented in a new form: the air melts into Wuotan, the hammer into Donar, the sword into Eor, and Sælde (fortune) into Wuotan again. The human mind strives to conceive the unfathomable depth of Deity in new and ever new ways. Some would give our heathenism Fetishism for a foundation (p. 104); the truth is, hammer, spear, flint and phallus were but symbols of the divine force, of which there were other types, both material and moral, equally valid. From thing to person, or from person to thing, was in this matter but a step. As the gods change into heroes and are born again, so they sink even into animals; but this precipitate of them would require certain explanations, which I mean to complete once for all in a new treatment of the Beast-fable. The faster the brood of deities multiplies, the sooner is faith likely to topple over into denial and abuse of the old gods; striking evidences of such atheistic sentiment Scandinavia itself supplies, both in undisguised mockery, and in reposing confidence in one's own strength and virtue (p. 6). The former is expressed in O. Norse by goðgá (irrisio deorum), O.H. Germ. kotscelta (blasphemia). And this revolt of heathens against heathenism increased as Christianity came nearer: thus the Nialssaga cap. 105 says of Hialti, that he was charged with scoffing at the gods, 'varð sekr á þingi um goðgá'; conf. Laxd. p. 180. Kristnisaga c. 9.

An element (*στοιχεῖον, ὑπόστασις*) is firm ground, basis, for which the Goth still has a good Teutonic name 'stabs' (=staff, whence the Romance stoffa, étoffe, and so our stuff again), or 'stôma' (whence our ungestüm, OHG. ungistuomi, unquiet). It meets the eye of man in all its glory, while deity remains unseen: how tempted he must feel to give it divine honours! But his senses and his mind link every exhibition of nature's forces with

subjective impressions bodily and mental, the promptings of language teach him to connect. How came Zio to unite in himself the ideas of sky and war? The Gothic veihan meant pugnare, vaíhjô pugna, veihs sacer, veiha sacerdos (p. 68), the OHG. wîg pugna and Mars (p. 203); the hallowed, the holy was at the same time the bright, the beaming. To the Gothic hveits corresponds the Skr. svêtas (albus), to this the Slav. svety, sviatyi (sanctus), and svèt, swiat, svetlo signify mundus, coelum, lux. But again Svetovit, Swantowit, is Ares and bellum, and the parallelism of Wuotan, Donar, Zio to Radigast, Perun, Svetovit stands unquestionable: the god of victory shines in the battle. To the Indians Sûryas denotes the sun, light, day, and he resembles Zio; when Sûryas is taking hold of a victim, it bites his hand off, and a golden one has to be put on: is not this Týr, whose hand the wolf bit off (p. 207)? and who knows but the like was told of the Slavic Svetovit? It was beautiful to derive the eye from the sun, blood from water, the salt flow of tears from the bitter sea, and the more profound seem therefore the myths of Sif's hair, of Freyja's tears; earth and heaven reflect each other. But as even the ancient cosmogonies are inversions of each other (pp. 568. 570, man made of world, world made of man), we have no right to refer the heathen gods exclusively either to astrology and the calendar, or to elemental forces, or to moral considerations, but rather to a perpetual and unceasing interaction of them all. A pagan religion never dropt out of the clouds, it was carried on through countless ages by the tradition of nations, but in the end it must rest on a mysterious revelation which accords with the marvellous language and the creation and propagation of mankind. Our native heathenism seems not to have been oppressed by gloomy fancies about the misery of a fallen existence (like the Indian doctrine of emanation), it favoured a cheerful fatalism (p. 860-1), and believed in a paradise, a renovated world, deified heroes; its gods resemble more those of Greece, its superstition more that of Rome: 'tanta gentium in rebus frivolis plerumque religio est.'

The question has been gravely asked, whether the heathen

gods really existed; and I feel disgust at answering it. Those who believe in a veritable devil and a hell, who would burn a witch with a will, may feel inclined to affirm it, thinking to support the miracles of the church by the evidence of this other miracle, that in the false gods she had crushed actual fiends and fallen angels.

Having observed that her Language, Laws and Antiquities were greatly underrated, I was wishful to exalt my native land. To me one labour became the other: what was evidence there was also a confirmation here, what furnished a foundation here served there as a prop. Perhaps my books will have more influence in a quiet happy time which will come back some day; yet they ought to belong to the Present too, which I cannot think of without our Past reflecting its radiance upon it, and on which the Future will avenge any depreciation of the olden time. My gleanings I bequeath to him who, standing on my shoulders, shall hereafter get into full swing the harvesting of this great field.

JACOB GRIMM.

BERLIN, 28*th April*, 1844.

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CHAPTER XXX.

POETRY.

Mære however means not only fama, but fabula; and here some other and more interesting personifications present themselves.

We perceive that the existence, organization and copiousness of poetry, as of language itself, reach back to a remote antiquity, that the resources and beauties of both gradually decay, and have to be recruited in other ways. Ancient poetry was a sacred calling, which bore a direct reference to the gods, and had to do with soothsaying and magic.

Before our modern names *dichter* (Ducange sub v. dictator) and *poet* were imported from abroad, we had no lack of native ones more beautiful. At first the inditing and uttering of poetry seem to have gone together, the *sänger* (OHG. sangari, MHG. senger and singer) was likewise the poet, there was no question as to who had made the song. Ulphilas calls the *ᾠδων liuþareis* (OHG. liodari?); and perhaps would distinguish him from the saggvareis (praecentor). Again, *ἀοιδός* comes from *ἀείδω*, as *οἶδα* from *εἴδω*, the digamma, ascertainable from video and Goth. váit, being dropt; we must therefore assume an older *ἀϝείδω* and *ἀϝοιδός*,[1] the singer and the godlike seer (*μάντις*, Lat. vates) are one. With this I connect the Goth. inveita (adoro, p. 29); from the sense of celebrating in festive song, might proceed that of worshipping. In the Slavic tongues slava is gloria, slaviti venerari, slavik [O. Slav. slaviy, Russ. solovéy] the glorifying jubilant bird, as *ἀηδών* is from *ἀείδω*, and our nahtigala from galan, canere. If *ἀοιδός* means a seeing knowing singer, poet, soothsayer, why may not a Goth. inváits, supposing there was such a word, have expressed the same?

When the creative inventive faculty, as in *ποιητής*, i.e., faber

[1] That *εἶδω* I see, and *ἀείδω* I sing, both change *ει* into *οι* proves no connexion between them, the change being common to many verbs (*λείπω λοιπός, κεῖμαι κοίτη*); vātes, at once seer and singer, *is* an important link.—Trans.

(and our *smid* equally stood for the framer of the lied or lay, ON. lioða-smiðr), was to be specially marked, this was done by the OHG. *scuof*, OS. AS. *scôp* (p. 407-8 n.), which reminds at once of the supreme Shaper of all things and of the shaping norn. The ON. has no skôpr[1] that I know of, but instead of it a neuter *skâld*, which I only grope after dubiously in OHG. (pp. 94. 649), and whose origin remains dark;[2] *skâldskaþr*, AS. *scôpcræft* = poësis. The Romance poetry of the Mid. Ages derived the name of its craft from the Prov. trobar, It. trovare, Fr. trouver,[3] to find, invent, and *trobaire, trovatore, trouvere* is inventor, as scuof is creator. A word peculiar to AS. is *gid, gidd* (cantus, oratio); Beow. 2124. 3446. 4205-12. 4304. 4888, or giedd, Cod. exon. 380. 25 [yeddynges, Chauc.]; *giddian* (canere, fari), Cædm. 127, 6. Cod. exon. 236, 8. Beow. 1253; *gidda* (poeta, orator): 'gidda snotor,' El. 419. 'giedda snotor,' Cod. exon. 45, 2. 293, 20. Leo has traced it in the Ir. hat cit, git (carmen dictum).[4]

A far-famed word is the Celtic *bard*, Ir. bard, pl. baird, Wel. bardh, occurring already in Festus: '*bardus* Gallice, cantor qui virorum fortium laudes canit.' Lucan's Phars., 1, 447: 'plurima securi fudistis carmina *bardi*;' the lark was called bardaea or bardala (Ducange sub v.), songstress like *ἀηδών*, nahtigala and slavik. No old authority gives a hint that such bards were known to the language or customs of Germany (see Suppl.).

[1] Biörn gives a neut. skop (ironia, jocus), skoplegr (ridiculus, almost *σκωπτικός*), which might make one sceptical of the long vowel in AS. scôp, but this is used of a lofty earnest poet in Beow. 179. 987. 2126, though sometimes of a comicus, scenicus. The OHG. salmscôf = psalmista, and the spelling scof scoffes (beside scaffan scuofi) in Isidore does not disprove the long vowel, as the same document puts blomo, blostar for bluomo, bluostar. An OHG. *uo* in scuof would remove all doubt, but this I cannot lay my hand on. The gloss 'scof, nubilar vel poësis' seems to connect two unrelated words which disagree in quantity, scop tugurium (our schoppen) and scôph poësis.

[2] ON. skâlda, Swed. skälla, Dan. skolde, Dut. schouden = glabrare; with this agrees the Fr. eschauder, échauder, M. Lat. excaldare (Ducange sub v.) to scald the hair off. So that *skâld* would be depilis, glaber (Engl. scald), bald-head, whether it meant aged minstrel, or that poets shaved their heads? Even scaldeih may have signified an oak stript of foliage.

[3] As there is no Latin root, we may suggest our own treffen, ON. drepa [drub], lit. to strike, hit, but also (in antreffen) to hit upon, find. The Gothic may have been drupan, as treten was trudan, which would account for the Romance *o*.

[4] Malb. gl. p. 49, conf. Ir. ceat = canere, carmine celebrare. The question is, whether, in spite of this Celtic affinity, the word is not to be found in other Teut. dialects. We might consider ON. geð (mens, animus), OHG. ket, kett, keti, ketti (Graff 4, 144), the doubling of the lingual being as in AS. bed, bedd, OHG. petti (Goth. badi), or AS. biddan, OHG. pittan (Goth. bidjan). The meaning would be a minding, remembering; geðspeki in Sæm. 33[b] is the wisdom of yore, inseparable from poetry. 'Gyd, gyddian' seems a faulty spelling: giedd shews the vowel broken.

Song, music and dance make glad (*τέρπουσι*) the heart of man, lend grace to the banquet (*ἀναθήματα δαιτός*, Od. 1, 152. 21, 430), lulling and charming our griefs (*βροτῶν θελκτήρια*, Od. 1, 337). God himself, when ailing, comes down from heaven, to get cheered by the minstrel's lay (p. 331). Hence poetry is called the *joyous art*, and song *joy* and *bliss*. We know the *gai saber* of the trobadors; and *joculator*, joglar, jongleur, is derived from jocus, joc, jeu, play and pleasantry. Even the Anglo-Saxons named song and music *gleo* (glee, gaudium), *wynn* (our wunne, wonne), or *dreám* (jubilum): 'scôp hwîlum sang hâdor on Heorote, þa wæs hæleða dreám,' Beow. 987; 'gidd and gleo' are coupled 4025; the song is called 'healgamen' (aulae gaudium), the harp 'gamenwudu, gleobeám,' playing and singing 'gamenwudu grêtan,' to hail, to wake the frolic wood, Beow. 2123. 4210; 'gleobeám grêtan,' Cod. exon. 42, 9. 'hearpan grêtan' and 'hearpan wynne grêtan' 296, 11. Beow. 4029. Then, beside *grêtan*, there is used *wrecan* (ciere, excitare): 'gid wrecan,' to rouse the lay, Beow. 2123. 4304. 4888. 'gid âwrecan' 3445. 4212. 'wordgid wrecan' 6338. 'geomorgidd wrecan,' Andr. 1548. The *gleoman*, gligman, is a minstrel, *gleocræft* the gay science of music and song. In Wigalois p. 312 six fiddlers scrape all sorrow out of the heart; if one could always have them by! And Fornald. sög. 1, 315, says: "leika hörpu ok segja sögur svâ at *gaman* þætti at." I will quote a remarkable parallel from Finnish poetry. It is true, the lay is called runo, the poet *runolainen*, and runoan to indite or sing, the song is laulu, the singer *laulaya*, and laulan I sing; but in the epic lays I find *ilo* (gaudium) used for the song, and *teen iloa* (gaudium cieo) for singing [1] (see Suppl.).

A thing of such high importance cannot have originated with man himself, it must be regarded as the gift of heaven. Invention and utterance are put in the heart by the gods, the minstrel is god-inspired: *θέσπις ἀοιδή*, Od. 1, 328. 8, 498. *ἀοιδὴ θεσπεσίη*, Il. 2, 600. *θέσπις ἀοιδὸς ὅ κεν τέρπησιν ἀείδων*, Od. 17, 385. Gods of the highest rank are wardens and patrons of the art divine, Zeus and Apollo among the Greeks, with us Wuotan

[1] 'Tehessä isän iloa,' Kalew. 22, 236. 29, 227, the father (the god Wäinämöinen) was making (waking) joy = he sang; 'io käwi ilo ilolle' 22, 215, joy came to joy = the song resounded, struck up.

and Bragr, Wäinämöinen with the Finns. Saga was Wuotan's daughter (p. 310), as the Muse was Zeus's; Freyja loved the minnesong: 'henni lîkaði vel mansöngr,' Sn. 29.

On the origin of poetry the Younger Edda (Sn. 82—87) gives at full length a myth, which the Elder had alluded to in Hâvamâl, (Sæm. 12. 23-4). Once upon a time the Aesir and Vanir made a covenant of peace, and in token of it each party stept up to a vessel, and let fall into it their spittle,[1] as atonements and treaties were often hallowed by mingling of bloods (RA. 193-4); here the holy spittle is equivalent to blood, and even turns into blood, as the sequel shews. The token of peace (griðamark) was too precious to be wasted, so the gods shaped out of it a man named *Kvâsir*, of all beings the wisest and shrewdest.[2] This Kvâsir travelled far in the world, and taught men wisdom (fræði, OHG. fruotî). But when he came to the dwelling of two dwarfs, Fialar and Galar (OHG. Filheri, Kalheri ?), they slew him, and let his blood run into two vats and a cauldron, which last was named Óðhrœrir, and the vats Sôn and Boðn. Then the dwarfs mixed the blood with honey, and of this was made a costly mead,[3] whereof whosoever tasted received the gift of poesy and wisdom: he became a *skâld* or a *fræða-maðr* (sage). We came upon a trace of this barrel of blood and honey among the dwarfs, p. 468.

Fialar and Galar tried to conceal the murder, giving out that Kvâsir had been choked by the fulness of his wisdom; but it was soon reported that they were in possession of his blood. In a quarrel they had with giant Suttûngr, they were forced to give up to him the precious mead, as composition for having killed his father. Suttûngr preserved it carefully in Hnitbiörg, and made his daughter the fair Gunnlöð keeper of it.

The gods had to summon up all their strength to regain possession of the holy blood. Óðinn himself came from heaven to earth, and seeing nine labourers mowing hay, he asked them if their scythes wanted sharpening. They said they did, and he

[1] Hrâki, better perh. hraki, is strictly matter ejected from the rachen (throat), OHG. hracho, as the AS. hraca is both guttur and tussis, sputum; conf. OHG. krachisôn screare, Fr. cracher, Serv. rakati, Russ. kharkat'.

[2] Creating out of spittle and blood reminds one of the snow and blood in fairy-tales, where the wife wishes for children; of the snow-child in the Modus Liebine; of the giants made out of frost and ice (pp. 440. 465); Aphrodite's being generated out of sea-foam is a part of the same thing.

[3] The technical term 'inn dýri miððr' recurs in Sæm. 23ᵇ. 28ᵃ.

pulled a whetstone[1] out of his belt, and gave them an edge; they cut so much better now, that the mowers began bargaining for the stone, but Oðinn threw it up in the air, and while each was trying to catch it, they all cut one another's throats with their scythes.[2] At night Oðinn found a lodging with another giant, Suttûng's brother Baugi, who sorely complained that he had that day lost his nine men, and had not a workman left. Oðinn, who called himself Bölverkr, was ready to undertake nine men's work, stipulating only for a drink of Suttûng's mead.[3] Baugi said the mead belonged to his brother, but he would do his best to obtain the drink from him. Bölverkr accomplished the nine men's work in summer, and when winter came demanded his wages. They both went off to Suttûng, but he would not part with a drop of mead. Bölverkr was for trying stratagem, to which Baugi agreed. Then Bölverkr produced a gimlet named Rati,[4] and desired Baugi to bore the mountain through with it, which apparently he did; but when Bölverkr blew into the hole and the dust flew back in his face, he concluded that his ally was no honester than he should be. He made him bore again, and this time when he blew, the dust flew inwards. He now changed himself into a worm, and crept in at the hole; Baugi plunged the drill in after him, but missed him. In the mountain Bölverkr passed three nights with Gunnlöð, and she vowed to let him have three draughts of the mead: at the first draught he drained Oðhrœrir, at the second Boðn, at the third Sôn, and so he had all the mead. Then he took the shape of an eagle, flew his fleetest, and Suttûngr as a second eagle gave chase. The Aesir saw Oðinn come flying, and in the courtyard of Asgarð they set out vats, into which Oðinn, hard pressed by Suttûng, spat out the mead, and thus it turned into spittle again, as it had been at first.[5] The mead is given by Oðinn to the âses, and to men

[1] Hein, AS. hân, Engl. hone, Swed. hen, Sskr. ç'âna.

[2] Like Dr. Faust fooling the seven topers into cutting each other's noses off.

[3] Here Oðinn plays the part of Strong Hans (Kinderm. 90), or of Siegfried with the smith.

[4] Mentioned also in Sæm. 28ᵇ; evidently from 'rata' permeare, terebrare, Goth. vratôn, so that it would be *Vrata* in Gothic.

[5] It is added: 'en honum var þa svâ nær komit at Suttûngr mundi nâ honum, at hann *sendi aptr* (behind) *suman miöðinn*, ok var þess ecki gætt: hafði þat hverr er vildi, ok köllum ver þat skâldfifla lut (malorum poetarum partem)'; or, as another MS. has it: 'en *sumum rœpti hann aptr*, hafa þat skâldfifli, ok heitir arnar

that can skill of poesy. This explains the fluctuating names of the poetic art: it is called *Kvâsis blôð* (Kv. sanguis); *dverga drecka, fylli* (nanorum potus, satietas); *Oðhrœris, Boðnar, Sônar laug* (O., B., S. aqua); *Hnitbiarga laug* (Hn. aqua); *Suttûngs miöðr* (S. mulsum); *Oðins fengr, fundr, dryckr* (O. praeda, inventio, potus); *Oðins giöf* (O. donum); *dryckr Asanna* (Asarum potus).

Some of these names are well worth explaining minutely. *Boðn* is rendered oblatio, *Sôn* reconciliatio: neither of them, at all events when first used by the dwarfs, can have had any such meaning yet. We can easily connect boðn with AS. byden, OHG. putin (Graff 3, 87); sôn certainly agrees with the OHG. suona (emendatio), not with Goth. sáun (lytrum). Sæm. 118ᵇ. 234ᵃ has 'Sônar dreyri' in the sense of 'sônar dreyri,' atonement-blood (conf. sônar göltr, p. 51). More meaning and weight attaches to the cauldron's name, which occurs also in Sæm. 23ᵇ. 28ᵃ. 88ᵃ, the last time spelt correctly. To explain the word, I must mention first, that a Goth. adj. vôþs, dulcis, answers to OHG. wuodi, OS. wôthi, AS. wêðe, which is used alike of sweet smell and sweet sound; 'swêg þæs wêðan sanges,' sonus dulcis cantilenae. And further, that an AS. noun wôð (masc.) is carmen, facundia: 'wôða wynsumast,' carmen jucundissimum, Cod. exon. 358, 9. 'wôða wlitegast,' carmen pulcherrimum, El. 748. 'wôð wera,' prophetia virorum, Cædm. 254, 23. 'wôðbora' (carmen ferens), both as poëta, Cod. exon. 295, 19. 489, 17 and as orator, propheta 19, 18. 346, 21. 'witgena wôðsong,' cantus prophetarum 4, 1. 'wôðcræft,' poësis 234, 30. 360, 7 synon. with the scôpcræft and gleocræft above. 'wynlicu wôðgiefu,' jocundum poëseos donum 414, 10 alluding at once to the gay art and to Wôden's gift. Now, whether the sense of 'sweet, gentle,' la-

leir (habent id mali poetae, et dicitur aquilae lutum),' because Oðinn flew in eagle's shape. In Mart. Capella, before Athanasia will hand the *immortalitatis poculum* to Philologia, 'leniter dextera cordis ejus pulsum pectusque pertractat, ac nescio qua intima plenitudine distentum magno cum turgore respiciens, Nisi haec, inquit, quibus plenum pectus geris, coactissima egestione vomueris forasque diffuderis, immortalitatis sedem nullatenus obtinebis. At illa omni nisu magnaque vi *quicquid intra pectus senserat evomebat.* Tunc vero illa *nausea* ac *vomitio* laborata in omnigenum copias convertitur litterarum. . . . Sed cum talia virgo undanter evomeret, puellae quam plures, quarum artes aliae, aliae dictae sunt disciplinae, subinde *quae virgo ex ore diffuderat colligebant*, in suum unaquaeque illarum necessarium usum facultatemque corripiens.' What seemed too gross as yet for immortality becomes here, when thrown up by the bride of heaven, the foundation of human science. Conf. Aelian's Var. hist. 13, 22.

in the noun wôð itself, or was first developed in the derived adj. (which seems nearer the truth, as wôð in some passages of Cod. exon. 118, 4. 125, 31. 156, 8 means only a loud sound, clamor, without any reference to song); it is plain that to it corresponds the ON. ôðr (also masc.), which denotes as well poëma as ingenium, facundia. In the former sense its agreement with the Lat. oda, Gr. ᾠδή (contr. from ἀοιδή), is purely accidental, as the difference of gender sufficiently shews. It is remarkable that at the creation of Askr and Embla, Sæm. 3ᵇ, Hœnir is said to have imparted to them the lacking ôð, which on p. 561 I translated 'reason': perhaps 'speech, gift of speech' would be more correct? [1] Be that as it may, *Oðhrœrir* seems clearly to be 'poësin ciens, dulcem artem excitans,' which is in striking harmony with the AS. 'gid wrecan' and Finn. 'teen iloa' above; hrœra, OHG. hruoran, MHG. rüeren, means tangere, ciere, and the cauldron would have been in OHG. Wuodhruori, AS. Wôðhrêre. Freyja's husband *Oðr* (Sæm. 5ᵇ. Sn. 37), whom she sought through the world and bewept with golden tears, may have been a personification of poetic art; [2] was he the same as *Kvâsir*, who traversed the world, and was murdered by the dwarfs?

Thus Oðhrœrir contained the sweet drink of divine poesy, which imparted immortality; and from the exertions made by the gods, particularly Oðinn, to regain possession of it when it had fallen into the hands of dwarfs and giants, follows its identity with amrita, ambrosia and nectar (p. 317-9); the ichor in the veins of gods is like the limpid spittle of the Ases and Vanes.

The pure bee, which has survived from Paradise,[3] brings the honey of song to the lips of the *sleeper*, p. 696 (see Suppl.).

I cannot resist the temptation to add some more legends, of how the *inspiration* of song came to great poets *overnight* in their sleep: the story of Pindar is told again of Homer and Aeschylus under another form.

Helen is said to have appeared to Homer: λέγουσι δέ τινες καὶ

[1] Here, as elsewhere, the ON. dialect becomes unsafe for comparison, because it confounds middle and final d with ð.

[2] The difficulty noticed in the preceding note forbids my inquiring whether this Oðr be related to Oðinn; the AS. Wôden and wôd (rabies) stand apart from wôð (poësis), conf. supra p. 131-2.

[3] Anc. laws of Wales 1, 739: bees draw their origin from Paradise, which they left through man's transgression, but God gave them his blessing; therefore mass cannot be sung without wax. Leoprechting's Lechrain, p. 80.

τῶν Ὁμηριδῶν ὡς ἐπιστᾶσα (Ἑλένη) τῆς νυκτὸς Ὁμήρῳ προσέταξε ποιεῖν περὶ τῶν στρατευσαμένων ἐπὶ Τροίαν, βουλομένη τὸν ἐκείνων θάνατον ζηλωτότερον ἢ τὸν βίον τῶν ἄλλων καταστῆσαι. Καὶ μέρος μέν τι διὰ τὴν Ὁμήρου τέχνην, μάλιστα δὲ διὰ ταύτην οὕτως ἐπαφρόδιτον καὶ παρὰ πᾶσιν ὀνομαστὴν αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι τὴν ποίησιν [Some of the Homeridæ say, that Helena appeared to Homer by night, and bade him sing of those who warred against Troy, she wishing to make their deaths more enviable than other men's lives. And that partly by Homer's art, but chiefly by her, his poetry was made so lovely and world-renowned]. Isocr. Ἑλ. ἐγκώμιον in Oratt. Att. ed. Bekker 2, 245.

Bacchus revealed himself to Aeschylus: ἔφη δὲ Αἰσχύλος μειράκιον ὢν καθεύδειν ἐν ἀγρῷ φυλάσσων σταφυλὰς καὶ οἱ Διόνυσον ἐπιστᾶντα κελεῦσαι τραγῳδίαν ποιεῖν. ὡς δὲ ἦν ἡμέρα (πείθεσθαι γὰρ ἐθέλειν) ῥᾷστα ἤδη πειρώμενος ποιεῖν. οὗτος μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγεν [Aesch. said, that when a boy he fell asleep in the field while watching grapes, and Dionysus appeared to him and bade him write tragedy. In the morning, wishing to obey, he composed quite easily as soon as he tried]. Pausan. i. 21, 2; ῥᾷστα, as ῥεῖα is said of the gods (p. 320).

As Aeschylus was watching the vineyard, Teutonic herdsmen were pasturing sheep or oxen when the gift of Wuotan came to them.

Hallbiörn had long wished to sing the praise of a dead minstrel Thorleif, but could not, until Thorleif appeared in the hush of night, unloosed his tongue, and, just as he was vanishing, displayed his shoulder (p. 326). Fornm. sög. 3, 102.

The heathen myth was still applicable to christian poets. A poor shepherd in his sleep hears a voice urging him without delay to put the Scriptures into Saxon verse; previously unskilled in song, he understood it from that moment, and fulfilled his commission, Opusc. Hincmari remensis (Par. 1615), p. 643. The like is told in fuller detail of the famous AS. poet Cædmon, Beda's Hist. eccl. 4, 24 (Frau Aventiure p. 28-9). All these poets, on awaking in the morning, succeed in a task untried before (see Suppl.).

Not only does the poetic faculty itself proceed from the gods; they invent the very *instruments* by which song is accompanied.

Apollo, who in Homer plays the phorminx, is said by Calli-

machus to have strung the lyre with seven chords; yet the invention of the lyre is ascribed to Hermes, who gave it to Apollo. This is important for us, as in Wuotan there is much of Hermes and of Apollo, with a preponderance of the former. Ingenuity is characteristic of Mercury, and I can scarcely doubt that in our antiquity, as Wuotan was the inventor of writing and rhythm, so he was of some instrument to accompany singing.

A confirmation of this is the five-stringed harp (kantelo) of the Finns, an invention of their highest god Wäinämöinen, who everywhere represents our Wuotan. First he made kantelo *of the bones of a pike*, and when it fell into the sea, he made it again of birchwood, its pegs of oak bough, and its strings of a mighty stallion's tail. In the same way Hermes took the tortoise (chelys) out of its shell, and mounted this with strings (Hymn to Merc. 24 seq.). Swedish and Scotch folksongs relate, that when a maiden was drowned, a musician made a harp of her *breastbone*, the pegs of her *fingers*, the strings of her golden *hair*, and the (first) stroke of the harp killed her murderess, Sv. folk v. 1, 81. Scott's Minstr. 3, 81. In one kinderm. no. 28 a *bone* of the slain brother is made into a shepherd's whistle, and every time it is blown, it publishes the crime; and a Swiss legend tells the same of a flute (Haupt's Zeitschr. 3, 36). The power of music and song was explained by giving the instruments a supernatural origin, and doubtless a remoter antiquity did not leave gods out of the reckoning.

When Wäinämöinen touches his harp, the whole of nature listens, the four-footed beasts of the wood run up to him, the birds come flying, the fish in the waters swim toward him; tears of bliss burst from the god's eyes, and fall on his breast, from his breast to his knees, from his knees to his feet, wetting five mantles and eight coats, Kalew. rune 22-9. Such tears are shed by Freyja (grâtfögr, p. 325), her that well liked song, and was wedded to Oðr; in fairytales lucky maidens have the power to laugh roses and weep pearls.

The *strömkarl* also breaks into weeping when he sings to the harp (p. 493). But as all nature, animate and inanimate, betrays her sympathy with human lamentations, so at the sound of the bewitching *albleich* (elf-lay, p. 470), we are told, the rushing river stayed its roar, the fish in the wave clicked with their

tongues, the birds of the forest twittered. Next to the gods, it is elves and watersprites that seem the most initiated into the mysteries of music, and *Hnikarr* the teacher of song stands for Oðinn himself (p. 489).

But from gods the gift of poesy passed to particular heroes, and similar effects are ascribed to their minstrelsy. Two heroes of Teutonic legend are eminent as minstrels: *Horant* (Herrant, AS. Heorrenda, ON. Hiarrandi, conf. Gramm. 1, 352. Z. f. d. a. 2, 4), of whom it is said in Gudr. 388-9 that by his songs he chained all men whole and sick, and that

> diu tier in dem walde ir weide liezen stên,
> die würme di dâ solten in dem grase gên,
> die vische die dâ solten in dem wâge vliezen,
> die liezen ir geverte;

beasts let be their grazing, creeping things and fishes forsook their wonted ways. The saga Herrauðs ok Bosa (Fornald. sög. 3, 328) couples the Hiarranda-hlioð with the enchanting gŷgjar slagr (giantess's harp-stroke). Then the hero *Volkêr* (Folhheri) plays the fiddle to the Nibelungs 1772:

> under die türe des hûses saz er ûf den stein,
> küener (bolder) videlære wart noch nie dehein:
> dô klungen sîne seiten (strings), daz al daz hûs erdôz (rang),
> sîn ellen zuo der fuoge (art) diu wârn beidiu grôz.
> süezer unde senfter gîgen er began:
> dô entswebete er an den betten vil manegen sorgenden man;

he lulled to sleep in their beds full many an anxious man. In Greek mythology Orpheus and Amphion bear mastery in song. When *Amphion* sang, the stones obeyed his lyre, and fitted themselves into a wall. Rocks and trees followed after *Orpheus*, wild beasts grew tame to him, even the Argo he lured from dry land into the wave, and dragons he lulled to sleep (entswebete). As Hermôðr, like him, made the descent to Hades [to fetch Balder back], and as it is for this same Balder that all beings mourn, we may fairly suppose that Hermôðr too had worked upon them by music and song, though nothing of the kind is recorded in the Edda (see Suppl.).

Now if poetry was a joint possession of men and gods, if by

gods it had been invented and imparted, it necessarily follows that antiquity would regard it as a function and business of the *priest*, and that the notions of priest, prophet and poet would meet and touch. And here I attach some weight to our finding the AS. word *bregowine* (pp. 93. 235), which seems to indicate a follower and friend of the poet-god Bragi, as we at the present day call the minstrel a friend or favourite of the Muses. In lands and times that looked kindly on the tuneful art, we may even suppose that minstrels, especially those of courts, had like priests a peculiar garb; particularly instructive on this point is the information furnished by the Welsh Laws as to the position and privileges of bards at the king's court, and the Norse sagas are unanimous on the estimation in which skalds were held. Poets of the Mid. Ages enjoyed a like distinction at princely courts, both Teutonic and Romance; and a close investigation of this interesting subject might bring out much in our modern customs, that has its source in the very oldest time[1] (see Suppl.).

I call attention to utterances of MHG. poets, which represent the art of song as something not acquired, but inborn, i.e. inspired by God (a sentiment as old as Homer, Od. 22, 347: *αὐτοδίδακτος δ' εἰμί, θεὸς δέ μοι ἐν φρεσὶν οἵμας παντοίας ἐνέφυσε*). Heinr. von Morunge 1, 53[a] says: 'wan ich durch sanc (for song) bin ze der werlte geborn,' it is a burden laid on him, his mission. Walther 26, 4, referring to God: 'sît ich von dir beide wort hân unde wîse.' The Wartb. kr. jen. 102: 'gab in Got sinne und sanges site.' Even the later Meistersänger speak to the same purpose: 'es trieb der Heilig Geist zwölf männer froh, die fiengen an zu dichten.' Why should not heathen poets in like manner have traced back their gifts to Wuotan's mead?

The *singing-matches* also seem to have sprung out of the simplest nature of poetry itself. As the wise men of old questioned one another on their knowledge, as heroes proved on each

[1] Niebuhr in Pref. to Merobaudes says: 'quem *morem coronandorum poetarum* cum poësi ipsa, cui semper aliquis honos mansit, etiam rudibus, quae secutae sunt, saeculis perdurasse arbitror.' But why go back to the Romans for what seems to have been the usage of our own antiquity, when kings, judges, priests, heroes and minstrels wore garland and fillet, and even the people's poets used to elect a king of their own? '*Au pui* où on *corone* les biaus discour,' Renars 1677.

other the prowess of their arms, so shehperds and poets sang for the prize of poetry. Oðinn wishes to sound the wisdom (orðspeki) of the sage giant, Vîngþôrr that of the sage dwarf, the blind guest[1] that of king Heiðrekr; then lays are sung and riddles propounded, Vafþrûðnir expressly stipulating 'höfði veðja við scolom höllo î, gestr, um geðspeki,' Sæm. 33ᵇ; they are to wager heads, as in the contests between cunning smiths or chess-players. Lives are staked also in the Wartburg war of minstrels: 'nu wirt gesungen âne vride . . . stempfel muoz ob uns nu beiden stân alhie mit sînem swerte breit, er rihte ab unser eime in roubes site, dem man valles jehe!' we'll sing and give no quarter . . . over us two shall stempfel stand with his broad sword, and despatch as an outlaw him that gets the fall. This transaction is of legend, not history, but it shews in what a serious light the poetic art was viewed.

And here let me mention the widely circulated myth of the poet who sees his property imperilled, because another's memory has mastered his songs. What passed between Virgil and Bathyllus is related, with alterations, of Arnoldo Daniello and a jongleur (Diez's Leben der troub. p. 352), but so it is of the Indian Kalidasa, whose poem four Brahmans had learnt by heart. The same Kalidasa and Valmiki were held to be incarnations of Brahmâ himself; what could more firmly establish a poet's reputation than to pass for an avatâra of the sublime divinity?

The gods share their power and influence with goddesses, the heroes and priests with wise women. Of the âsynjor, *Saga* is named next after Frigg in Sn. 36, and together with Sôl in 212; her residence is *Sökqvabeckr*, sinking beck, a large and roomy place; *Sagones* (Saga's ness) in Sæm. 154ᵇ seems also to take its name from her. In Sæm. 41ᵃ *Söcqvabeckr* is described as a place where cool waters rush: there *Oðinn* and *Saga* day by day drink gladly out of golden cups. This is the drink of immortality, and at the same time of poesy. *Saga* may be taken as wife or as daughter of Oðinn; in either case she is identical with him as god of poetry. With the Greeks the *Musa* was a daughter of Zeus, but we often hear of three or nine Muses, who resemble our wise women, norns and schöpferins (shapers of destiny), and dwell

[1] Oðinn himself; whose blindness fits in with that of the ancient poets. The loss of eyes strengthens the memory, it lends the capacity and impulse to sing.

beside springs or wells.[1] The cool flood well befits the swan-wives, daughters of Wish. *Saga* can be no other than our sage (saw, tale), the 'mære' of p. 897 personified and deified.

Our 13th cent. poets personify 'âventiure,' making a *frau Aventiure*, like the norn, foot it overland to the minstrel's hut, knock and demand admission.[2] To this day, when people take turns in telling stories, they say 'the *märlein* goes round from house to house.' Suchenwirth no. xxv describes an apparition of dame *Aventiure* on a blooming ea in the forest; she has travelled through the land to kings and princes as *frau Ehre's* messenger, and now presents her report; putting a gold ring on her finger, she disappears. I have one thing more to mention, that M.Nethl. poets make a person of 'aventure' in the sense of our MHG. frau Sælde: 'die *Aventure* wacht,' Maerl. 2, 14. 'dat rat (rota) van *Aventuren*,' Rein. 6183, just like 'diu Sælde wacht' and 'Sælden rat' (p. 863-8). I am not aware that in this they followed the pattern of any Romance poetry (see Suppl.).

That 'passing round' or alternate telling of myth and märchen was already a Greek and Roman custom, as we may see by Ovid's Met. lib. iv, where the Minyads during their spinning and weaving beguile the time by telling tales, 39:

> 'Utile opus manuum vario sermone levemus,
> *per*que *vices* aliquid, quod tempora longa videri
> non sinat, in medium vacuas referamus ad aures.'
> dicta probant, primamque jubent narrare sorores.
> 167: Desierat, mediumque fuit breve tempus, et orsa est
> dicere Leuconoë, vocem tenuere sorores.
> 274: Poscitur Alcithoë, postquam siluere sorores.

But it was the festival of Bacchus, the priest had bidden them keep it, 'immunes operum dominas famulasque suorum,' and the god avenged himself by turning their web into a tissue of vines and ivy, and the Minyads into owls and bats. (The song of women at the loom is also mentioned by Agathias, p. 29.) Holda and Berhta are often angry at spinning which desecrates their

[1] O. Boh. glosses in Hanka 55b: '*wodna* = musa' (Jungm. 5, 147). Is this water-wife, spring-wife?

[2] Refs. given in my little work quoted above, p. 310. To these add, from Ulr. von Türheim's Wh. 192c, a dialogue of the poet with frau Aventiure.

holy day (pp. 270-4), though otherwise they favour and reward it. The norns making visitations have spindles, and they sing at their spinning: the wise women and divine mothers of our antiquity may be regarded as teachers of song, story and spindle.

CHAPTER XXXI.

SPECTRES.

A preceding chapter has treated of Souls in their state of separation from the body and passage to another dwelling-place: these are the souls that have found their rest, that have been taken up into hades or heaven. Thenceforward they sustain only a more general connexion with earth and the living; their memory is hallowed by festivals, and in early times probably by sacrifices.[1]

Distinct from these are such spirits as have not become partakers, or not completely, of blessedness and peace, but hover betwixt heaven and earth, and in some cases even return to their old home. These souls that appear, that come back, that haunt, we call spectres (ghosts).

The Roman expression for peaceful happy spirits of the dead was *manes*, for uncanny disquieting apparitions *lemures* or *larvae;* though the terms fluctuate, for 'manes' can denote spectral beings too, and 'lemures' can have a general meaning (Creuzer's Symb. 2, 850—866). *Larva* betrays its affinity to *lar* (p. 500), and the good kindly *lares* were often held to be manes or souls of departed ancestors. So in our German superstition we find instances of souls becoming homesprites or kobolds,[2] and still oftener is there a connexion between unquiet spirits and spectres [3] (see Suppl.).

[1] Between the christian *All-souls' day* (Nov. 2), on which the people visit churchyards and hang garlands on graves, and the three Roman holidays when the under world opened (*mundus patet*) and the 'manes' ascended (Creuzer 2, 865. O. Müller's Etrusk. 2, 97), there is a manifest connexion. On the night of Nov. 2 the Esthonians set food for the *dead*, and rejoice when they find any of it gone in the morning. In the Fellin district near Dorpat the *departed souls* are received in the bath-room, and bathed one after the other, Hupel's Nachr. p. 144, conf. Possart's Estland p. 172-3; exactly as *food is set* before angels and homesprites (p. 448).

[2] I confine myself here to one Hessian folktale. *Kurt*, a farmer at Hachborn, would not quit the farm even after his death, but lent a hand in the fieldwork as a *good spirit*. In the barn he helped the labourer to throw sheaves from the loft: when the man threw one, *Kurt* would throw another. But once, when a strange servant got up into the loft, he would not help; at the cry 'You throw, Kurt!' he seized the man and flung him on the thrashingfloor, breaking his legs.

[3] Isengrim changes into Agemund (p. 511).

For the quiet spirits and their condition, our language has a beautiful adj., OHG. *hiuri* laetus, mitis, AS. *heoru*, Beow. 2744, ON. *hýr*, MHG. *gehiure*, our *geheuer* when we say 'es ist geheuer,' all is quiet, happy, peaceful. The contrary is expressed by OHG. and OS. *unhiuri* dirus, saevus, AS. *unheoru*, Beow. 1967 (unhiore 4822. unhȳre 4236. Cædm. 138, 5), ON. *óhýr*, MHG. *ungehiure*, our *ungeheuer*: 'es ist ungeheuer,' there's something wrong. But both words go further, God is called hiuri, the *devil* unhiuri; ungeheuer is monstrum, portentum in general. The Gothic form would be *hiuris*, which seems nearly allied to haúri (pruna, ember), ON. hyr ignis, and is therefore the shining, the bright; if an OHG. gloss in Graff 4, 1014 be correct, even the non-negative hiuri may signify dirus, viz. fiery in a bad sense, such as we shall find presently in connexion with ignes fatui. Much the same in meaning with hiuri and unhiuri are *holdo* and *unholdo* (pp. 266. 456), though these are applied more to spirits and daemons than to human souls; yet Notker renders 'manes' by *unholdon*, so that holdo and unholdo also appear synonymous here.

The OHG. *kispanst* fem. (our gespenst n., spectre) meant properly suggestio (from spanan, suggerere); but as the forms of confession dealt much with devilish suggestion and enticement,[1] men came to use it habitually of ghostly delusion and illusion. Boner 94, 54 has 'diu *gespenst*' (why not gespanst?) for phantom, apparition. The neuter is found in the Mære vom schretel und wazzerber 92 quite in the above connexion: 'des tiuvels vâlant und sîn *gespenste*'; even earlier, Herbort 3500 couples *gespenste* and getwâs. Keisersperg (Omeiss 39) has *des teufels gespenst* (praestigium): not till recent centuries did the term become really common, and some spelt it *gespengst*.[2]

We also say *spuk*; it is a LG. word, which first occurs in the Chron. saxon. (Eccard p. 1391) in the form *spôkne*; Detmar 1, 136 has *spuk*, and 2, 206 *vorspok* praesagium. Nowadays *spôk*, Nethl. *spook*, *spookzel*, Swed. *spöke*, Dan. *spökenis* A.D. 1618, *spögelse* spectrum, *spög* jocus; we should therefore expect a MHG. spuoch, Mod. spuch, but it is nowhere to be found.

[1] 'Von des teufels gespenste,' instigation, Oberlin's Bihtebuoch 36. Frisch 2, 302ᵃ; but he thinks it conn. with Lat. *spectrum*.

Gespüc indeed stands in Berthold, Cod. pal. 35, fol. 27ᵇ (see Suppl.).

More precise is the ON. *aptrgânga* fem., Laxd. saga p. 224, as if anima rediens, Dan. *gienfärd, gienganger*, Fr. *revenant*, Saxo Gram. 91 says *redivivus*; conf. our phrase 'es *geht um*,' something haunts (lit. goes about); 'at hann *gengi* eigi dauðr,' that he walk not when dead, Fornald. sög. 2, 346. To haunt is in L. Sax. *dwetern*, on the Harz *walten* (Harry's Volkss. 2, 46).

The regular word in ON. is *draugr*, Fornm. sög. 3, 200: Óðinn is styled '*drauga* dróttinn,' Yngl. saga cap. 7, and a gravemound *draugahûs*, Sæm. 169ᵃ. The word is lost in Sweden and Denmark, but lives in the Norweg. *drou, droug* (Hallager 20ᵉ). It seems to be of one root with OHG. *gitroc*, MHG. *getroc*, delusive apparition, phantom, used of elvish and fiendish beings (p. 464); but our verb triegen, OHG. triokan trôc (fallere) has no corresponding driuga in the Northern languages.[1] The Edda uses the analogous *svik* (fallacia, fraus) likewise in the sense of a ghostly jugglery, Sæm. 166ᵇ. 167ᵃ. And that is also the meaning of the terms *giscín* and *scînleih* quoted p. 482; they can refer to spectres as well as to woodsprites (see Suppl.).

The glosses yield a number of old words for the Lat. larva. To begin with the earliest, the Florent. 982ᵇ gives *talamasga*, and the later M.Nethl. coll. (Diut. 2, 220) *talmasge*, Kilian too has *talmasche* larva, *talmaschen* larvam induere; it is the O.Fr. *talmache, tamasche* in Roquefort, who explains it as masque, faux visage, and 'talmache de vaisseau' is a figure fixed on a ship.[2] Other glosses have *flathe*, and *scraz, scrat* (p. 478). *Mummel* is both larva and kobold (p. 506). Anything uncanny and alarming, monstrum, prodigium, portentum, praestigium, acquires the meaning of spectre too. Again, *getwâs* (p. 464), Herbort 842. 12856. 'ein bôse *getwâs*, Vom gelouben 530; the M.Nethl. *ghedwaes*, Hor. belg. 6, 249 agrees with the Lith. *dwase*, spectre [v. the LS. verb dwetern above]. In Martina 10 we read 'daz

[1] AS. dreogan dreáh, though answering letter for letter, never means fallere, but agere, patrare, tolerare, to dree; agreeing with ON. driugr, frequens.

[2] Ducange sub. v. *talamasca*, *τέρμα*, delusio imaginaria; the author. cited are Hincmar in capit. ad presb. dioec. cap. 14; Regino 1, 213; Burchardus wormat. 2, 161, who says: 'larvas daemonum, quas vulgo *talamascas* dicunt, ante se ferri consentiat.' Extr. from Concil. namnetense cap. 10; conf. Schmeller 2, 640.

geschrudel;' and in Stald. 2, 27. 59. 64 das *nachthuri*, das *ghūdi*. The ON. *vofa* is spectrum, from vofa ingruere, imminere; the draugr is also called a *dólgr*, foe, Fornald. sög. 2, 368. Fornm. sög. 3, 200, and from this perhaps comes the Upland *dödöljor*, manes defunctorum (Ihre's Dial. lex. 32[b]), if not from dylja (celare), Sw. dölja (see Suppl.).

Now it is remarkable that even the ON. draugar are described as *begirt with fire*: 'hauga eldar brenna,' Fornald. sög. 1, 434. 'lupu upp hauga eldarnir' 1, 518. *Loka daun* (p. 242) is the Icel. name of a fiery exhalation. To this day it is the popular belief all over Germany, that souls which have not attained heavenly peace roam at night like bewildered birds, *in fiery shape*,[1] on field and meadow, conf. *wiesenhüpfer* p. 829. The traveller, who takes them for village lights, they lure out of his way, now approaching, now retiring: they perch on his back like kobolds (Superst. I, 611), and flap their wings together over him (Deut. sag. no. 276); they lead into bogs, on deceptive devious tracks, *hirrlig-spor* (St. 2, 45), exactly like the butz, p. 507. The pedestrian tries to keep one foot at least in the carriage-rut, and then he gets on safely, for ignes fatui have power on foot-paths only. According to Villemarqué's Barzasbreiz 1, 100 the spirit is a child with a firebrand in his hand, which he whirls round like a flaming wheel; now he appears as a sick horse, and when the herdsman would lead him into the stable, hurls the brand at his head; now as a bleating goat gone astray, that after sundown shews itself on the pond, and tempts the traveller into the water, then scampers off to tease him. In Etner's Unwürd. doctor p. 747, 'fire-men and frisking goats' are coupled together. ——The phenomenon has a vast variety of names. Our commonest one is *irlicht* (err-light) and, from its resemblance to a burning wisp of straw, *irwisch* and on the Rhine *heerwisch*; in Austria *feuriger mann* and *fuchtelmann* (Höfer 1, 251) from fuchteln to burnish or jerk to and fro, viz. the fiery blade.[2] In

[1] In Lausitz the ignis lambens that plays about the tops of forest trees is called *feuermann*, Laus. monatsschr. 1797. p. 749.

[2] These fiery exhalations also settle on the *masts of ships*, Marienleg. 87, 96, or the *spears of warriors*. The former kind the ancients named after the Dioscuri, Pliny 2, 37, the moderns call it 'feu de St. Elme.' For the flaming spears I have old authorities: 'signa (also, pila) militum arsere,' Tac. Ann. 12, 64. 15, 7. 'duae puerorum lanceae, emissis flammis, lumen euntibus praebuerunt, ibantque fulgurantes hastae,' Greg. tur. mirac. Mart. 1, 10. And a modern instance in Zeiller's

Pictorius p. 524 *zeusler* from zeuseln, züseln to toy with fire; otherwise *zünsler, zündler,* and in Fischart's Garg. 231 *zunsel-gespenst,* conf. Höfer sub v. zinserl. In Low Germ. *gloiniger* (glowing) *man; tückebold, tukkebode,* not from tücke malice, but from tuk a quick movement (Reinh. p. 109) or zucken to dart to and fro, conf. HG. ziebold butterfly; in Westph. *smalgenfür,* which I can hardly make out. More generally known are *dwerlicht* (whirling flame); *elflicht; dwellicht* (from dwelen, dwalen to stray); Nethl. *dwaallicht; droglicht* (deceptive again), *drogfackel,* and in Nassau *druckfackel,* Kehrein's Nas. 31-2. Dan. *lygtemand* (lantern-man), *blaasmand* (Molbech's Dial. 39) and *vätte-lys* (light of wights, sprites); Swed. *lys-eld, lyktgubbe;* Engl., with that fondness for christening which we noticed under homesprites (p. 504), *Will with a wisp, Jack in a lanthorn.* Lat. *ignis fatuus* (Ann. corbei. an. 1034); Fr. *feu follet* (follis, p. 508), *fifollet* (Pluquet's Contes p. 13), *farfadet, sauterai,* also, acc. to Mém. des ant. 4, 406, a *quela* incomprehensible to me. Slovèn. *vezha* (butterfly, witch), *shkopnik,* -niak (straw-man, from shkopa, MHG. schoup), *smotava* (from smota, error), *slep ogeni* (blind fire); *svétylko* (light, dim.), *bludička* (from blud, error); Pol. *błędnica;* Lans. *bludne swieczke;* Russ. *bludiáshchiy ogóni.* I do not know any very old names even in Teutonic languages, unless it be *irreganc* and *girregar* in a Königsberg MS. (Grundr. 345); but Irreganc in Ls. 2, 314 is the name of a wandering scholar, and irrefogel in Haupt's Zeitschr. 1, 438 means the same, conf. Schm. 3, 588; the Titurel 576 has 'ein *irregengel* vor allem valsche.' The two words *vätte-lys* and *elf-licht,* shewing a close connexion with wights and elves, are perhaps the oldest we have. *Sindri* (scintilla), a dwarf's name in the Edda, Sæm. 7^{b}, suggests the Slav homesprite Iskrzycki (iskra spark, p. 513). A story is told of an *irwisch* getting caught, and a great many more coming soon after to claim him back: this represents them as an elvish people, who stick to one another.[1]

Miscell. (Nürnb. 1661) p. 143-4. Deut. sag. no. 279. None of these refer to souls, they are rather happy omens of victory, as will be shewn in ch. XXXV. *Shooting stars* indeed pass for souls (p. 722), even with the Greenlanders (Majer's Myth. lex. 2, 240) and Mongols (Bergmann 3, 42).

[1] Ad. Kuhn (Pref. to Märk. sagen p. ix) is for regarding all kobolds as orig. fire-divinities, and the domestic hearth-fire as the foundation of their worship. Both kobolds and will o' wisps are called follet (p. 508-14), and kobolds, like fiery dragons (p. 691), bring money or corn; but the adder too is of kobold nature (p. 691), and the dominae bring gifts (p. 287), and so do devils.

Will o' wisps had once, no doubt, a wider meaning, which has now been narrowed down mainly to two classes of unblessed spirits, the souls of *unchristened babes*,[1] and those of men who in their lifetime *dealt wrongly by the cornfield*, who respected not the sacredness of landmarks.[2] Unrighteous land-surveyors (Swed. skiäll-vrängare) may be seen hovering up and down the furrows with a long fiery pole, as if re-measuring the wrongly measured; whoso has ploughed of his neighbour's land, whoso has moved the mark-stone, on him falls the curse of wandering as a will o' wisp. Hence about ploughing debatable strips, one hears the people say: 'ik mag nüt spüken gan,' conf. Deut. sag. nos. 284-5. Thiele 1, 58 (see Suppl.).

Another class of spectres will prove more fruitful for our investigation: they, like the ignes fatui, include *unchristened babes*, but instead of straggling singly on the earth as fires, they sweep through forest and air in *whole companies*[3] with a horrible din. This is the widely spread legend of the *furious host*, the *furious hunt*, which is of high antiquity, and interweaves itself, now with gods, and now with heroes. Look where you will, it betrays its connexion with heathenism.

The Christians had not so quickly nor so completely renounced their faith in the gods of their fathers, that those imposing figures could all at once drop out of their memory. Obstinately clung to by some, they were merely assigned a new position more in the background. The former god lost his sociable character, his near familiar features, and assumed the aspect of a dark and dreadful power, that still had a certain amount of influence left. His hold lost upon men and their ministry, he wandered and hovered in the air, a spectre and a devil.

I have already affirmed on p. 132 a connexion between this *wütende heer* and *Wuotan*, the god being linked with it in name

[1] Braunschw. anz. 1760 no. 86, 85. Praetorii Weltbeschr. 1, 262-9. Laus. monatss. 1797 p. 747. So far back as the Anegenge 180ᵃ. 190ᵇ: 'wâ mit diu armen chindelîn *daz fiwer* haben geschoufet, diu dâ *ungetoufet* ân ir schulde scheident von hinne;' but here the fire of purgatory is meant.

[2] Ungerechte *siebner*, Möser's Patr. phant. 3, 309. '*fürig marcher*,' will o' wisps, in Hebel's poem. Mone's Anz. 1835, 408. 1838, 223. Westendorp p. 511.

[3] Yet there are some *brausende geister* (blustering spirits) that go singly too, as 'jungfer Eli' in the Davert, Deut. sag. no. 121. Their name of 'braus. g.' is vouched for by Plitt's Nachr. von Wetter p. 42.

as in reality. An unprinted poem of Rüdiger von Munir contains among other conjuring formulas 'bî *Wuotunges her.*' Wuotunc and Wuotan are two names of one meaning. Wuotan, the god of war and victory, rides at the head of this aërial phenomenon; when the Mecklenburg peasant of this day hears the noise of it, he says 'de *Wode tüt* (zieht),' Adelung sub v. wüthen; so in Pomerania and Holstein, '*Wode* jaget,' W. hunts (p. 156). Wuotan appears riding, driving, hunting, as in Norse sagas, with valkyrs and einheriar in his train; the procession resembles an army. Full assurance of this hunting *Wode's* identity with the heathen god is obtained from parallel phrases and folktales in Scandinavia. The phenomenon of howling wind is referred to Oðin's waggon, as that of thunder is to Thôr's. On hearing a noise at night, as of horses and carts, they say in Sweden '*Oden far förbi.*'[1] In Schonen an uproar produced perhaps by seafowl on November and December evenings is called *Odens jagt.*[2] In Bavaria they say *nacht-gejaid* or *nacht-gelait* (processio nocturna), Schm. 2, 264. 514; in German Bohemia *nacht-goid* = spectre, Rank's Böhmerwald pp. 46. 78. 83. 91. In Thuringia, Hesse, Franconia, Swabia, the traditional term is 'das *wütende heer,*' and it must be one of long standing: the 12th cent. poet of the Urstende (Hahn 105, 35) uses 'daz *wuetunde her*' of the Jews who fell upon the Saviour; in Rol. 204, 16 Pharaoh's army whelmed by the sea is 'sîn *wôtigez her,*' in Stricker 73[b] 'daz *wüetunde her*'; Reinfr. v. Brnswg. 4[b] 'daz *wüetende her*'; Mich. Beheim 176, 5 speaks of a 'crying and whooping (wufen) as if it were das *wutend her*'; the poem of Henry the Lion (Massm. denkm. p. 132) says, 'then came he among daz *wöden her,* where evil spirits their dwelling have.' Geiler v. Keisersperg preached on the *wütede* or *wütische heer.*[3] H. Sachs has a whole poem on the *wütende heer,* Agricola and Eiering relate a Mansfeld legend. It is worth noticing, that acc.

[1] Loccenii Antiq. sveog. cap. 8. Geijer Sv. häfd. 1, 268.

[2] Nilsson's Skandinavisk fauna 2, 106.

[3] Omeiss 36 seq.; his description deserves a place here: 'And they that so run, run mostly at the fron-fasts, and chiefly at the *fron-fast before Christmas,* that is the holiest tide. And every one runneth as he is in his raiment, the peasant as a peasant, the knight as a knight, so run they in a string, and one beareth the krös before him, another *his head in his hand,* and *one runneth before,* that crieth, Flee out of the way, that God give thee thy life! Thus speak the meaner sort thereon. I know nought thereof.'

to Keisersperg all who die a *violent death* 'ere that God hath set it for them,' and acc. to Superst. I, 660 all children *dying unbaptized,* come into the furious host to Holda (p. 269), Berhta and Abundia (p. 288), just as they turn into will o' wisps (p. 918): as the christian god has not made them his, they fall due to the old heathen one. This appears to me to have been at least the original course of ideas (see Suppl.).

While in this connexion the meaner sort long cherished the thought of *Wuotan,* or conveniently stowed him away in a cognate verb; it was quite in the regular course of things that the more cultivated should from an early time put the *devil* in his place. 'Si bliesen unde gullen, vreisliche si hullen, sô daz diu helle wagete, *alse der tuvel dâ jagete,*' says Veldeck in En. 3239. Caesarius heisterb. 12, 20 tells of a vain woman, who had herself buried in fine new shoes, and whose soul was therefore hunted by the *infernalis venator*: 'ex remoto vox quasi venatoris terribiliter buccinantis, necnon et latratus canum venaticorum praecedentium audiuntur.'[1] 'der tiuwel hât ûz gesant *sîn geswarme* und *sîn her,*' Rol. 204, 6. 'der tiuvel und *sîn her,*' Renn. 2249. 2870. The people in Bavaria say that on Ash-wednesday the *devil* chases the little wood-wife, Superst. I, 914[b]. With the devil is associated the figure of an enormous *giant,* who can stand for him as well as for Wuotan; and this opinion prevails in Switzerland. There the wild hunt is named *dürsten-gejeg* (see durs, þurs, p. 521): on summer nights you hear the *dürst* hunting on the Jura, cheering on the hounds with his *hoho;* heedless persons, that do not get out of his way, are ridden over.[2] Schm. 1, 458 quotes an old gloss which renders by *duris* durisis the Lat. Dis Ditis, and plainly means a subterranean infernal deity.

In Lower Saxony and Westphalia this Wild Hunter is identified with a particular person, a certain semi-historic master of a hunt. The accounts of him vary. Westphalian traditions call him

[1] Joach. Camerarii Horae subsec. cent. 2. cap. 100 p. 390: Ceterum negari non potest, *diabolum* varia ludibria cum alias tum praesertim in venatione leporum saepenumero exercere, cum nonnunquam appareant *tripedes claudicantes* et *igneis oculis,* illisque praeter morem dependentibus villis, atque venatores insequentes abducere student vel ad praecipitia vel ad paludosa aliaque periculosa loca. Imo visa sunt *phantasmata* et in terra et in nubibus *integras venationes* cum canibus, retibus, clamoribus raucis tamen, aliisque instrumentis venaticis instituere, praeferentia formas hominum longe ante defunctorum.

[2] Ildef. v. Arx, Buchsgau p. 230. Stald. 1, 208.

Hackelbärend, Hackelbernd, Hackelberg, Hackelblock. This *Hackelbärend* was a huntsman who went a hunting even on Sundays, for which desecration he was after death (like the man in the moon, p. 717) banished into the air, and there with his *hound* he must hunt night and day, and never rest. Some say, he only hunts in the twelve nights from Christmas to Twelfth-day; others, whenever the *storm-wind howls*, and therefore he is called by some the *jol-jäger* (from yawling, or Yule?).[1] Once, in a ride, *Hackelberg* left *one of his hounds behind* in Fehrmann's barn at Isenstädt (bpric. Minden). There the dog lay a whole year, and all attempts to dislodge him were in vain. But the next year, when Hackelberg was round again with his wild hunt, the hound *suddenly jumped up*, and ran yelping and barking after the troop.[2] Two young fellows from Bergkirchen were walking through the wood one evening to visit their sweethearts, when they heard a wild barking of dogs in the air above them, and a voice calling out between *'hoto, hoto!'* It was *Hackelblock* the wild hunter, with his hunt. One of the men had the hardihood to mock his 'hoto, hoto.' Hackelblock with his hounds came up, and set the whole pack upon the infatuated man; from that hour not a trace has been found of the poor fellow.[3] This in Westphalia. The Low Saxon legend says, *Hans von Hackelnberg* was chief master of the hounds to the Duke of Brunswick, and a mighty woodman, said to have died in 1521 (some say, born that year, died 1581), Landau's Jagd 190. His tombstone is three leagues from Goslar, in the garden of an inn called the Klepperkrug. He had a *bad dream* one night; he fancied he was fighting a terrific *boar* and got beaten at last. He actually met the beast soon after, and brought it down after a hard fight; in the joy of his victory he kicked at the boar, crying 'now slash if you can!' But he had kicked with such force, that *the sharp tusk went through his boot*, and injured his foot.[3] He thought little of the wound at first, but the foot swelled so that the boot had to be cut off his

[1] Weddigen's Westfäl. mag. vol. 3, no. 18.

[2] Redeker's Westfäl. sagen, nos. 48 and 47.

[3] 'Sigurðr iarl drap Melbrigða Tönn, ok bátt höfuð hans við slagðlar ser oc slaut kykqva vöðva sinom á tönnina, er skaði or höfðino, kom þar í blástr í fótinn, oc feck hann af því bana,' Har. saga ens hárf. cap. 22. Gundarich the son of Thassilo dies of a wound in his calf inflicted by a boar, MB. 13, 504-5. Conf. Orion's fate, end of this chapter.

leg, and a speedy death ensued. Some say he lies buried at Wülperode near Hornburg.[1] This *Hackelnberg* 'fatsches' in storm and rain, with carriage, horses and hounds, through the Thüringerwald, the Harz, and above all the *Hackel* (a forest between Halberstadt, Gröningen and Derenburg, conf. Praet. weltb. 1, 88). On his deathbed he would not hear a word about heaven, and to the minister's exhortations he replied: 'the Lord may keep his heaven, so he leave me my hunting;' whereupon the parson spoke: 'hunt then till the Day of Judgment!' which saying is fulfilled unto this day.[2] A faint *baying* or *yelping of hounds* gives warning of his approach, before him flies a night-owl named by the people *Tutosel* (tut-ursel, tooting Ursula). Travellers, when he comes their way, *fall silently on their faces*, and let him pass by; they hear a barking of dogs and the huntsman's 'huhu!' *Tutosel* is said to have been a nun, who after her death joined Hackelnberg and mingled her *tuhu* with his *huhu*.[3] The people of Altmark place a wild hunter named *Hakkeberg* in the Drömling, and make him ride down by night with horses and hounds from the Harz into the Drömling (Temme, p. 37). Ad. Kuhn no. 17 calls him *Hackenberg* and *Hackelberg*: he too is said to have hunted on Sundays, and forced all the peasants in his parish to turn out with him; but one day a pair of horsemen suddenly galloped up to him, each calling to him to come along. One looked wild and fierce, and fire spirted out of his horse's nose and mouth; the left-hand rider seemed more quiet and mild, but Hackelberg turned to the wild one, who galloped off with him, and in his company he must hunt until the Last Day. Kuhn has written down some more stories of the *wild hunter* without proper names, nos. 63. 175. There are others again, which tell how *Hackelberg* dwelt in the Sölling, near Uslar, that he had lived in the fear of God, but his heart was so much in the chase, that on his deathbed he prayed God, that *for his share of heaven* he might be let *hunt* in the Sölling *till the Judgment-day*. His wish became his doom, and oft in that forest one hears by night both bark of hound and horrible blast of horn.

[1] Otmar's Volkssagen 249. 250.

[2] Like Dümeke's desire to drive his waggon for ever (p. 726).

[3] Otmar 241. Deut. sag. no. 311. Conf. Goth. þiutan (ululare), þut-haúrn (tuba).

His grave is in the Sölling too, the arrangement of the stones is minutely described; two black hounds rest beside him.[1] And lastly, Kuhn's no. 205 and Temme's Altmark p. 106 inform us of a heath-rider *Bären*, whose burial-place is shewn on the heath near Grimnitz in the Ukermark; this *Bären's* dream of the stumpfschwanz (bobtail, i.e. boar) points unmistakably to *Hackelbärend*.

The irreconcilable diversity of domiciles is enough to shew, in the teeth of tombstones, that these accounts all deal with a mythical being: a name that crops up in such various localities must be more than historical. I am disposed to pronounce the Westph. form *Hackelberend* the most ancient and genuine. An OHG. hahhul [Goth. hakuls], ON. hökull m. and hekla f., AS. hacele f., means garment, cloak, cowl, armour;[2] hence *hakolberand* is OS. for a man in armour, conf. OS. wâpanberand (armiger), AS. æscberend, gârberend, helmb., sweordb. (Gramm. 2, 589). And now remember Oðin's dress (p. 146): the god appears in a broad-brimmed hat, a blue and spotted cloak (*hekla* blâ, flekkôtt); *hakolberand* is unmistakably an OS. epithet of the heathen god *Wôdan*, which was gradually corrupted into *Hackelberg, Hackenberg, Hackelblock*. The name of the *Hackel*-wood may be an abbrev. of Hakelbernd's wood. The 'saltus *Hakel*' in Halberstadt country is mentioned first in the (doubtful) Chron. corbeiense ad an. 936 (Falke p. 708); a long way off, hard by Höxter in the Auga gau, there was a *Haculest*horp (Wigand's Corv. güterb. p. 94. Saracho 197. Trad. corb. 385) and afterwards a *Hackel*breite; then in L. Hesse, a *Hackels*berg near Volkmarsen, and a *Hackel*berg by Merzhausen (bailiw. Witzenhausen). But if a hakel = wood can be proved, the only trace of a higher being must be looked for in *berand*, and that may be found some day; in ch. XXXIII. I shall exhibit Hakol in the ON. Hekla as mountain, hence wooded heights, woodland. In any case we here obtain not only another weighty testimony to Woden-worship, but a fresh confirmation of the meaning I attach to the 'wütende heer'; and we see clearly how the folktale of Hackelberg came to be preserved in Westphalia and L. Saxony

[1] Kirchhof's Wendunmut no. 283, p. 342. Deut. sag. no. 171. The Braunschw. anz. 1747, p. 1940 says the wild hunter Hackelnberg lies in the Steinfeld, under a stone on which a mule and a hound are carved.

[2] OHG. missa-hahul (casula), St. Gall gl. 203; misse-hachil, Gl. herrad. 185^{b} is mass-weed, chasuble, Graff 4, 797.

(where heathenism lasted longer) rather than in South Germany (yet see *Habsberg, Hägelberg,* Mone's Anz. 4, 309. *Hachilstat,* Graff 4, 797).

That the wild hunter is to be referred to Wôdan, is made perfectly clear by some Mecklenburg legends.

Often of a dark night the airy hounds will bark on open heaths, in thickets, at cross-roads. The countryman well knows their leader *Wod,* and pities the wayfarer that has not reached his home yet; for *Wod* is often spiteful, seldom merciful. It is only those who keep in the middle of the road that the rough hunter will do nothing to, that is why he calls out to travellers: 'midden in den weg!'

A peasant was coming home tipsy one night from town, and his road led him through a wood; there he hears the wild hunt, the uproar of the hounds, and the shout of the huntsman up in the air: '*midden in den weg!*' cries the voice, but he takes no notice. Suddenly out of the clouds there plunges down, right before him, a *tall man on a white horse.* 'Are you strong?' says he, 'here, catch hold of this chain, we'll see which can pull the hardest.' The peasant courageously grasped the heavy chain, and up flew the wild hunter into the air. The man twisted the end round an oak that was near, and the hunter tugged in vain. 'Haven't you tied your end to the oak?' asked *Wod,* coming down. 'No,' replied the peasant, 'look, I am holding it in my hands.' 'Then you'll be mine up in the clouds,' cried the hunter as he swung himself aloft. The man in a hurry knotted the chain round the oak again, and *Wod* could not manage it. 'You must have passed it round the tree,' said *Wod,* plunging down. 'No,' answered the peasant, who had deftly disengaged it, 'here I have got it in my hands.' 'Were you heavier than lead, you must up into the clouds with me.' He rushed up as quick as lightning, but the peasant managed as before. The dogs yelled, the waggons rumbled, and the horses neighed overhead; the tree crackled to the roots, and seemed to twist round. The man's heart began to sink, but no, the oak stood its ground. 'Well pulled!' said the hunter, '*many's the man I've made mine,* you are the first that ever held out against me, you shall have your reward.' On went the hunt, full cry: hallo, holla, wol, wol! The peasant was slinking away, when from unseen heights a stag fell groaning at

his feet, and there was *Wod*, who leaps off his *white horse* and cuts up the game. 'Thou shalt have some blood and a hind-quarter to boot.' 'My lord,' quoth the peasant, 'thy servant has neither pot nor pail.' 'Pull off thy boot,' cries Wod. The man did so. 'Now walk, with blood and flesh, to wife and child.' At first terror lightened the load, but presently it grew heavier and heavier, and he had hardly strength to carry it. With his back bent double, and bathed in sweat, he at length reached his cottage, and behold, the boot was filled with gold, and the hind-quarter was a leathern pouch full of silver.[1] Here it is no human hunt-master that shows himself, but the veritable god on his white steed: many a man has he taken up into his cloudy heaven before. The filling of the boot with gold sounds antique.

There was once a rich lady of rank, named *frau Gauden*; so passionately she loved the chase, that she let fall the sinful word, 'could she but always hunt, she cared not to win heaven.' Four-and-twenty daughters had *dame Gauden*, who all nursed the same desire. One day, as mother and daughters, in wild delight, hunted over woods and fields, and once more that wicked word escaped their lips, that 'hunting was better than heaven,' lo, suddenly before their mother's eyes the daughters' dresses turn into tufts of fur, their arms into legs, and four-and-twenty *bitches* bark around the mother's hunting-car, four doing duty as horses, the rest encircling the carriage; and away goes the wild train up into the clouds, there betwixt heaven and earth to hunt unceasingly, as they had wished, from day to day, from year to year. They have long wearied of the wild pursuit, and lament their impious wish, but they must bear the fruits of their guilt till the hour of redemption come. Come it will, but who knows when? During the *twölven* (for at other times we sons of men cannot perceive her) *frau Gauden* directs her hunt toward human habitations; best of all she loves on the night of Christmas eve or New Year's eve to drive through the village streets, and wherever she finds a *street-door open*, she sends a *dog* in. Next morning a *little dog* wags his tail at the inmates, he does them no other harm but that he disturbs their night's rest by his whining. He is not to be pacified, nor driven away. Kill him, and he turns

[1] Lisch, Mecklenb. jahrbuch 5, 78—80.

into a stone by day, which, if thrown away, comes back to the house by main force, and is a dog again at night. So he whimpers and whines the whole year round, brings sickness and death upon man and beast, and danger of fire to the house; not till the *twölven* come round again does peace return to the house. Hence all are careful in the twelves, to keep the great house-door well locked up after nightfall; whoever neglects it, has himself to blame if *frau Gauden* looks him up. That is what happened to the grandparents of the good people now at Bresegardt. They were silly enough to kill the dog into the bargain; from that hour there was no 'säg und täg' (segen bless, ge-deihen thrive), and at length the house came down in flames. Better luck befalls them that have done *dame Gauden* a service. It happens at times, that in the darkness of night she misses her way, and gets to a cross-road. *Cross-roads* are to the good lady a stone of stumbling: every time she strays into such, *some part of her carriage breaks*, which she cannot herself rectify. In this dilemma she was once, when she came, *dressed as a stately dame*, to the bedside of a labourer at Boeck, awaked him, and implored him to help her in her need. The man was prevailed on, followed her to the cross-roads, and found one of her carriage wheels was off. He put the matter to rights, and by way of thanks for his trouble she bade him gather up in his pockets sundry deposits left by her canine attendants during their stay at the cross-roads, whether as the effect of great dread or of good digestion. The man was indignant at the proposal, but was partly soothed by the assurance that the present would not prove so worthless as he seemed to think; and incredulous, yet curious, he took some with him. And lo, at daybreak, to his no small amazement, his earnings glittered like mere gold, and in fact it was gold. He was sorry now that he had not brought it all away, for in the daytime not a trace of it was to be seen at the cross-roads. In similar ways *frau Gauden* repaid a man at Conow for putting a new pole to her carriage, and a woman at Göhren for letting into the pole the wooden pivot that supports the swing-bar: the chips that fell from pole and pivot turned into sheer glittering gold. In particular, *frau Gauden* loves young children, and gives them all kinds of good things, so that when children play at *fru Gauden*, they sing:

fru Gauden hett mi'n lämmken geven,
darmitt sall ik in freuden leven.

Nevertheless in course of time she left the country; and this is how it came about. Careless folk at Semmerin had left their street-door wide open one St. Silvester night; so on New-year's morning they found a *black doggie* lying on the hearth, who dinned their ears the following night with an intolerable whining. They were at their wit's end how to get rid of the unbidden guest. A shrewd woman put them up to a thing: let them brew all the house-beer through an 'eierdopp.' They tried the plan; an egg-shell was put in the tap-hole of the brewing-vat, and no sooner had the 'wörp' (fermenting beer) run through it, than *dame Gauden's doggie* got up and spoke in a distinctly audible voice: 'ik bün so old as Böhmen gold, äwerst dat heff ik min leder nicht truht, wenn man 't bier dorch 'n eierdopp bruht,' after saying which he disappeared, and no one has seen *frau Gauden* or her dogs ever since[1] (see Suppl.).

This story is of a piece with many other ancient ones. In the first place, *frau Gauden* resembles *frau Holda* and *Berhta*, who likewise travel in the 'twelves,' who in the same way get their vehicles repaired and requite the service with gold, and who finally quit the country (pp. 268, 274-6). Then her name is that of *frau Gaue, frau Gode, frau Wode* (p. 252-3) who seems to have sprung out of a male divinity *fro Woden* (p. 156), a matter which is placed beyond doubt by her identity with *Wodan* the wild hunter. The very dog that stays in the house a year, Hakelberg's (p. 921) as well as frau Gauden's, is in perfect keeping. The astonishment he expresses at seemingly perverse actions of men, and which induces him, like other ghostly elvish beings, to speak and begone, is exactly as in the stories given at p. 469.

At the same time the transformation of the wild hunter into goddesses appears to be not purely arbitrary and accidental, but accounted for by yet other narratives.

E. M. Arndt[2] tells the tale of the *wild hunter* (unnamed) in the following shape: In Saxony there lived in early times a rich and mighty prince, who loved hunting above all things, and sharply

[1] Lisch, Meckl. jb. 8, 202—5. In the Prignitz they tell the same story of *frau Gode*, Ad. Kuhn no. 217.

[2] Märchen und jugenderinnerungen 1, 401—4.

punished in his subjects any breach of the forest laws. Once when a boy barked a willow to make himself a whistle, he had his body cut open and his bowels trained round the tree (RA. 519-20. 690); a peasant having shot at a stag, he had him fast riveted to the stag. At last he broke his own neck hunting, by dashing up against a beech-tree; and now in his grave he has no rest, but must hunt every night. He rides a *white horse* whose *nostrils shoot out sparks*, wears armour, cracks his whip, and is followed by a countless swarm of hounds: his cry is '*wod wod, hoho, hallo*!'[1] He keeps to forests and lonely heaths, avoiding the common highway; if he happens to come to a cross-road, down he goes horse and all, and only picks himself up when past it; he hunts and pursues all manner of weird rabble, thieves, robbers, murderers and witches.

A Low Saxon legend of the Tilsgraben or devil's hole between Dahlum and Bokenem (Harrys 1, 6) says, the *wild knight Tils* was so fond of the chase that he took no heed of holidays, and one Easter Sunday he had the presumption to say 'he would bring a beast down that day if it cost him his castle.' At evening the cock crew out that the castle would sink before night; and soon after it sank in the lake with all that was in it. A diver once on reaching the bottom of the lake, saw the *ritter Tils* sitting at a stone table, old and hoary, with his *white beard grown through the table.*

In the Harz the *wild chase* thunders past the Eichelberg with its 'hoho' and clamour of hounds. Once when a carpenter had the courage to add to it his own 'hoho,' a black mass came tumbling down the chimney on the fire, scattering sparks and brands about the people's ears: a huge horse's thigh lay on the hearth, and the said carpenter was dead. The *wild hunter* rides a *black headless horse*, a hunting-whip in one hand and a bugle in the other; his face is set in his neck, and between the blasts he cries 'hoho hoho;' before and behind go plenty of women, huntsmen and dogs. At times, they say, he shews himself kind, and comforts the lost wanderer with meat and drink (Harrys 2, 6).

In Central Germany this ghostly apparition is simply called the *wild huntsman*, or has some other and more modern name

[1] '*Hoho, woit gut!*' AW. 8, 144-5. Both *wod* and *woit* seem to me to refer to Wôdan, Wuotan, as exclamations are apt to contain the names of gods.

attached to him. By Wallrod near Schlüchtern in Hanau country are seen tall basaltic crags standing up like ruins: there in former times was the *wild man's* house, and you may still see his *grey gigantic figure* make its rounds through the forest, over heath and field, with crashing and uproar (conf. 432. 482). A Thuringian story contains (and in a clearer form) that Bavarian chase after the holzweiblein. The *wild hunter* pursues the *moss-folk*, the *little wood-wives*[1]; he remains unseen, but you hear him bluster in the air, so that it 'crickles and crackles.' A peasant of Arntschgerente near Saalfeld had the impudence, when he heard shouting and the bark of dogs in the wood, to put in his tongue and mimic the huntsmen's cry: the next morning he found the quarter of a *little moss-wife* hung up outside his stable door, as if to pay him for his share in the hunt.[2] 'Dixerunt majores nostri, tempore melioris et probioris aevi, *concubinas sacerdotum in aëre a daemonibus*, non aliter quam feras sylvestres a canibus venaticis, *agitari* atque tandem discerptas inveniri: quod si hominum quispiam haec [hanc ?] audiens venationem *suo clamore adjuverit*, illi partem vel *membrum concubinae dissectum ad januam domus* mane a daemonibus suspensum,' Bebelii Facetiae (Tub. 1555) p. 11[a]. Here the wood-wives are replaced by priests' wives, but the same may already have been done in the 13th cent. folktale. Our German tradition says nothing about the reason why the airy hunter pursues the wood-wife;[3] among the people of Upper Germany the *wild women* themselves play a leading part in the 'twelve nights,' and in Lent they are part and parcel of this

[1] These *moosleute* and *holzweibel* belong to the class of wood-sprites (p. 483), forming a link between them and dwarfs; it is Voigtland legend that knows most about them. They look like three-year old children, keep on friendly terms with men, and make them presents. They often help at haymaking, feed cattle, and sit down to table with men. At flax-harvest the countryman leaves *three handfuls of flax lying in the field for the holzweibel* (conf. pp. 448. 509); and in felling trees, during the brief time that the noise of the falling tree lasts, *he marks three crosses on the trunk* with his axe: in the *triangle* formed by these crosses the holzweibel sit and have respite from the *wild hunter*, who at all times is shy of the cross (conf. Deut. sag. no. 47). But Voigtland tradition makes the wild hunter himself have the figure of a *small man hideously overgrown with moss*, who roamed about in a narrow glen a league long (Jul. Schmidt 140). In the Riesengebirg the *night-spirit* is said to chase before him the *rüttelweibchen*, who can only find protection under a tree at the felling of which the words 'Gott walt's!' (not 'walt's Gott!') were uttered, Deut. sag. no. 270.

[2] Deut. sag. no. 48. Jul. Schmidt p. 143; conf. no. 301, where the dwarf hangs a chamois before the huntsman's door.

[3] See below, the story from Boccaccio and that of Grönjette.

heathenish spectredom. Even among the Vicentine and Veronese Germans, the keenest sportsman will not venture on the track of game at the seasons just mentioned, for fear of the *wild man* and the *wood-wife*. No herdsman will drive cattle out, the flocks and herds are watered in the stable, children fetching the water in earthen vessels from the nearest spring. For the *wood-wife* the women spin a portion of hair (flax) on their distaffs, and throw it in the fire as a peace-offering to her (Hormayr's Tyrol 1, 141). The legend of the *wild hunt* extends to the Ardennes, and Wolf in his Niederl. sagen nos. 516-7 (conf. p. 706) justly lays stress on the fact that the object hunted is usually the *boar*, that a wood-cutter who had taken part in the hunt was a whole fortnight salting *boar's flesh*; which reminds us of the *boar* of the einheriar (pp. 318, 386), the caro aprina, and the roast boar in the legend of Walther (Waltharius p. 105); and Hackelberg's dream (p. 921) is about the boar (see Suppl.).

The people dread having to do with these powerful spirits, and whoever breaks through this backwardness pays for it heavily. The Westphalian peasant (p. 921) fared worse than he of Saalfeld; so did a tailor in the Münsterland. When the wild hunt swept over his house, he mocked the hunter by repeating his *huhu, klif-klaf* after him; then a horse's foot came through the window, and knocked him off his table, while a terrible voice rang out of the air: 'willstu mit mir jagen, sollst du mit mir knagen (gnaw)!' DS. no. 309. A girl at Delligsen by Alfeld (Hildesheim country) tells the tale: Mine mutter vertelle, dat de *helljäger* dorch de luft ejaget herre (had been hunting) un jimmer eraupen 'ha ha! tejif, tejaf, tejaf!' De knechte (labourers) tau Hohne ut'n ganzen dörpe keimen eins avens to hope, un brochten alle de hunne (dogs) ut'n dörpe mit, umme dat se den *helljäger* wat brüen wollen. Da kumte ok dorch de luft en ejaget, un wie hei ropt 'ha ha!' sau raupt de knechte ok 'ha ha!' un wie de hunne in'r luft jilpert, sau jilpert un bleft de hunne ut'n dörpe ok alle; do smitt de *helljäger* ön wat herunner (somewhat down to them) un schriet: 'wil ji mit jagen, so könn ji ok mit gnagen!' Ans se den annern (next) morgen tau seien dauet (went to see), wat ön de helljäger henne smetten herre, da ist'n olen perschinken (an old gammon of boar).' An Austrian folktale in Ziska's Märchen p. 37 tells of another fellow who, when the

wilde gjoad swept past, had the audacity to beg for a piece of game to roast; the same in a Nethl. story, Wolf no. 259. On the other hand, a W. Preussen tale in Tettau and Temme no. 260 says, on the Bullerberg in the forest of Skrzynka, Stargard circuit, the wild hunter carries on his operations on Bartholomew's night, and once he flung a man's thigh out of the air into the head forester's carriage, with the words: 'Something for you out of our hunt!'

A Meissen folk-tale calls the spectre *Hans Jagenteufel* and pictures him as a man booted and spurred, in a long *grey coat*, with a bugle over his back, but *no head*, riding through the wood on a *grey horse*, DS. no. 309. They also tell of a wild hunter named *Mansberg*, of what district I do not know. Swabian stories about *Elbendrötsch's*[1] hunting, about the *Muotes heer*[2], I should like to know more fully; the castle of *junker Marten*, a wild hunter of Baden, stood at the village of Singen by the Pfinz, and his tombstone is shewn in a chapel on the way to Königsbach; the people in the Bahnwald see him at night with his dogs (Mone's Anz. 3, 363). Johann Hübner the *one-eyed*, rides *at midnight* on a black horse, DS. no. 128. Other tales of S. Germany give no names, but simply place at the head of the wild host a *white man* on a *white horse* (Mone's Anz. 7, 370. 8, 306); an old *lord of a castle* rides a *white horse*, which may be seen grazing the meadows, ibid. 3, 259, just as Oden pastured his steed (p. 155n.). Even Michel Beheim (born 1416) made a meister-song on Eberhart, count of Wirtenberg, who hears in the forest a 'sudden din and uproar vast,' then beholds a spectre, who tells him the manner of his damnation. When alive he was a lord, that never had his fill of hunting, and at last made his request unto the Lord *to let him hunt till the Judgment-day;* the prayer was granted, and these 500 years all but 50, he has hunted a stag that he never can overtake; his face is wrinkled as a sponge.[3] This is only another form of the L. Saxon legend of Hackelberg (see Suppl.)

[1] Gräter's Iduna 1813, p. 88: 1814, p. 102. Conf. 'elbentrötsch' p. 461.

[2] Wagner's Madame Justitia p. 22. Schmid's Wörtb. 391 'stürmet wia 's *Muthesheer*' 'seia verschrocka wia wenn (scared as if) 's *Muathesheer* anen vorbeizoga wär,' Neflen's Vetter aus Schwaben (Stutg. 1837), pp. 154, 253. Is it a corrup. of '*Wuotes* hör,' Schm. 4, 202, like potz, kotz (p. 15)? or is it *muot* (ira) = wuot? Conf. *Frômuot*, p. 891.

[3] Von der Hagen's (etc.) Sammlung (etc.) 1, 43-4.

But in the same Swabia, in the 16th cent. (and why not earlier?) they placed a spectre named *Berchtold* at the head of the *wütende heer*, they imagined him *clothed in white*, seated on a *white horse*, leading *white* hounds in the leash, and with a horn hanging from his neck.[1] This *Berchtold* we have met before (p. 279): he was the masculine form of white-robed *Berhta*, who is also named *Prechtölterli* (Grät. Iduna 1814, p. 102).

Here we get a new point of view. Not only Wuotan and other gods, but heathen goddesses too, may head the furious host: the wild hunter passes into the wood-wife, Wôdan into *frau Gaude*. Of *Perchtha* touching stories are known in the Orla-gau. The little ones over whom she rules are human children who have died *before baptism*, and are thereby become her property (pp. 918. 920). By these *weeping babes* she is surrounded (as dame Gaude by her daughters), and gets ferried over in the boat with them (p. 275-6). A young woman had lost her only child; she wept continually and could not be comforted. She ran out to the grave every night, and wailed so that the stones might have pitied her. The night before Twelfth-day she saw *Perchtha* sweep past not far off; behind all the other children she noticed a little one with its shirt soaked quite through, carrying a *jug of water* in its hand, and so weary that it could not keep up with the rest; it stood still in trouble before a fence, over which Perchtha strode and the children scrambled. At that moment the mother recognised her own child, came running up and lifted it over the fence. While she had it in her arms the child spoke: 'Oh how warm a mother's hands are! but do not cry so much, else you cry my jug too full and heavy, see, I have already spilt it all over my shirt.' From that night the mother ceased to weep: so says the Wilhelmsdorf account (Börner p. 142-3). At Bodelwitz they tell it somewhat differently: the child said, 'Oh how warm is a mother's arm,' and followed up the request 'Mother, do not cry so' with the words 'You know every tear you weep I have to gather in my jug.' And the mother had one more good hearty cry (ib. 152). Fairy

[1] Historie Peter Leuen des andern Kalenbergers, von Achilles Jason Widman (aus schwäbisch Hall), Nürnb. 1560. Reprinted in Hagen's Narrenbuch, p. 353. Peter Leu here plays a trick on peasants, p. 394, by disguising himself as *Berchtold*.

tales have the story of a little shroud drenched with tears (Kinderm. 109. Reusch no. 32. Thom. Cantipr. p. 501, conf. Wolf's Wodana p. 153), and the Danish folktale of Aage and Else makes flowing tears fill the coffin with blood; but here we have the significant feature added of the children journeying *in Perhta's train.* The jug may be connected with the lachrymatories found in tombs [1] (see Suppl.).

With *Berahta* we have also to consider Holda, Diana and Herodias. *Berahta* and *Holda* shew themselves, like frau Gaude (p. 925), in the 'twelves' about New-year's day. Joh. Herolt, a Dominican, who at the beginning of the 15th cent. wrote his Sermones discipuli de tempore et de sanctis, says in Sermo 11 (in die Nativ.): Sunt quidam, qui in his xii. noctibus subsequentibus multas vanitates exercent, qui deam, quam quidam *Dianam* vocant, in vulgari 'die *frawen unhold,*' dicunt *cum suo exercitu ambulare.* The same nocturnal perambulation is spoken of in the passages about *Diana,*[2] *Herodias* and *Abundia* p. 283 seq. It is exactly the Vicentine *wood-wife,* who acts along with the wild man, and to whom the people still offer up gifts. And as Berhta-worship in the Salzburg country became a popular merrymaking (p. 279), so a *Posterli-hunt,* performed by the country-folk themselves on the Thursday before Christmas, is become an established custom in the Entlibuch. The *Posterli*[3] is imagined to be a spectre in the shape of an *old woman* or *she-goat* (conf. p. 916). In the evening the young fellows of the village assemble, and with loud shouts and clashing of tins, blowing of alp-horns, ringing of cow-bells and goat-bells, and cracking of whips, tramp over hill and dale to another village, where the young men receive them with the like uproar. One of the party represents the

[1] Infantum animae flentes in limine primo,
quos dulcis vitae exsortes et ab ubere raptos
abstulit atra dies et funere mersit acerbo. Virg. Aen. 6, 427.

In the Introd. to the Pentameron the revival of a dead man depends on a cruse hung upon his tomb being wept full.

[2] With *Diana* agrees the Pol. *Dziewanna, Dziewina* (Linde 1, 599[b]), *Dziewica;* Liebusch has the foll. story about a *Dziwitza* in Up. Lausitz: she was a beautiful young knenye or princess, who roamed in the woods, armed with the zylba (a javelin); the finest of hounds accompanied, scaring both game and men who were in the thick forest at midday. The people still joke any one that spends the hour of noon alone in the fir-woods: 'are you not afraid Dziwitza will come to you?' But she also hunts of a moonlight night.

[3] Is it synon. with *frau Faste* (p. 782 n.), and taken from the Slavic 'post' = fast, jejunium?

Posterli, or they draw it in a sledge in the shape of a puppet, and leave it standing in a corner of the other village; then the noise is hushed, and all turn homewards (Stald. 1, 208). At some places in Switzerland the *Sträggele* goes about on the Ember-night, Wednesday before Christmas, afflicting the girls that have not finished their day's spinning (ib. 2, 405). Thus Posterli and Sträggele resemble to a hair both Berhta and Holda.[1] At Neubrunn (Würzburg country) the furious host always passed through three houses, each of which had three doors directly behind one another, street-door, kitchen-door, and back-door; and so wherever it finds three doors in a line, the furious host will drive through them. If you are in the street or yard when it passes, and pop your head between the spokes of a cart-wheel, it will sweep past, else it will wring your neck. Old people at Massfeld tell you, it used to come down the Zinkenstill by the cross-road near Reumes bridge, and go over the hills to Dreissigacker. Many will swear by all that is sacred, that they have seen it (Bechstein's Fränk. sag. no. 137). In Thuringia the furious host travels in the train of *frau Holla* (DS. no. 7). At Eisleben and all over the Mansfeld country it always came past on the Thursday in Shrove-tide; the people assembled, and looked out for its coming, just as if a mighty monarch were making his entry. In front of the troop came an old man with a white staff, *the trusty Eckhart*, warning the people to move out of the way, and some even to go home, lest harm befall them. Behind him, some came riding, some walking, and among them persons who had lately died. One rode a *two-legged horse*,[2] one was tied down on a wheel which moved of itself, others ran *without any heads*, or carried their *legs across their shoulders*. A drunken peasant, who would not make room for the host, was caught up and set upon a high rock, where he waited for days before he could be helped down again.[3] Here *frau Holda* at the head of her spirit-host produces quite the impression of a heathen goddess making her royal pro-

[1] Conf. the nightly excursions of the Scottish *elf-queen* (Scott's Minstr. 2, 149, 161), and of the *fays* (Keightley 1, 166).

[2] Hel rides a three-legged one, p. 844.

[3] Agricola's Spr. 667. Eyering 1, 781—6. Headless figures, beasts two-legged, three-legged, redhot, are in many ghost stories; a *headless* wild hunter runs riot in the Wetterau (Dieffenbach's Wett. p. 280), in Pomerania a *headless* horseman (Temme no. 140).

gress: the people flock to meet and greet her, as they did to Freyr (p. 213) or Nerthus (p. 251). *Eckhart with his white staff* discharges the office of a *herald*, a *chamberlain*, clearing the road before her. Her living retinue is now converted into spectres (see Suppl.).

Eckhart the trusty, a notable figure in the group of Old-Teutonic heroes (Heldensage 144. 190, reeve of the Harlungs, perhaps more exactly *Eckewart*, Kriemhild's *kämmerer*, Nib. 1338, 3) gets mixt up with the myths of gods. The appendix or preface to the Heldenbuch makes him sit outside the *Venus-mount* to warn people, as here he warns them of the furious host; so much the plainer becomes his vocation here, as well as the meaning of the Venusberg. *Eckhart* goes before the furious host with *Holda*, he is also doomed to abide till the Judgment-day at the mount of *Venus*: the identity of Holda and Venus is placed beyond question. That mountain (some say the *Hoselberg* or *Horselberg* near Eisenach) is *dame Holle's* court, and not till the 15-16th cent. does she seem to have been made into *dame Venus*;[1] in subterranean caves she dwells in state and splendour like the kings of dwarfs; some few among men still find their way in, and there live with her in bliss. The tale of the noble *Tanhäuser*, who went down to view her wonders,[2] is one of the most fascinating fictions

[1] Conf. p. 456. *Venusberg* in the Nethl. chapbook Margareta van Limburg c. 56. 82-4, also in the Mörin. Keisersperg (Omeiss 36) makes witches fare to *frau Fenusberg*. There must have been a good many of these *Venusbergs*, particularly in Swabia: one near Waldsee, another by Ufhausen near Freiburg, in which the *Schnewburger* takes up his lodging, like Tanhäuser, H. Schreiber's Tagb. 1839, p. 348. Doubtless the original M. Nethl. poem of Marg. van Limburg (A.D. 1357) also had *Venusberg*, as the later chapbook and Johan von Soest's paraphrase have (Mone's Anz. 4, 168), so that its earliest occurrence is rather to be placed in the 14th cent. A Dresden MS. of the 15th cent. (Hagen's Grundr. 336) contains a still unprinted poem on the *Venusberg*, prob. composed in the 14th cent. Joh. v. Soest wrote in 1470, Herm. von Sachsenheim 1453, and before them Joh. Nider (d. 1440) in his Formicarius names the *Venusberg*. Joh. Herolt speaks, as we saw, of *Diana* and frau *Unhold*; and next of kin is the mount that houses *Felicia* and *Juno* (p. 961). There may have been similar stories in Italy, for Paracelsus (Strasb. 1616) 2, 291c informs us: 'And by the same pygmaei was the *Venusberg in Italia* occupied, for Venus herself was a nympha, and the *Venusberg* hath been likened unto her realm; but she also is past away, and her realm hath departed with her and ceased. For who now heareth tell of them, as in the old time when *Dannhauser* and others were therein? And the same is no fabled song of him, but a true history.' Again, in the Chirurg. schriften (Strasb. 1618) p. 332b: 'Some that be very great thereat, do secretly practise nigromancia, as campisirer (strollers) that come straight out of the *Venusberg*, who have dipped their art in the *Veltliner*, and have said matins with brother *Eckart*, and eaten a black-pudding with *Danhäuser*.' Afzelius 2, 141 tells of a bridegroom who was 40 years *among the elves*. All the legends place Venus and Holda in elf-mountains.

[2] Deut. sag. no. 170. As the pope by the dried up stick cuts off Tanhäuser

of the Mid. Age: in it the hankering after old heathenism, and the harshness of the christian clergy, are movingly portrayed. *Eckhart*, perhaps a heathen priest, is courtier and conductor of the goddess when she rides out at a stated season of the year. I might even make him with his *κηρύκειον* the psychopompos of the mounted host of the dead (conf. the waggon of souls creaking in the air, p. 833); only he conducts, not the departing, but rather the returning dead.

As we can also prove *Dietrich von Bern's* participation in the wild hunt (and Eckhart was one of his hero-band), he may stand as our second native hero in this group. Now the Lausitz people name the wild hunter *Berndietrich*, *Dietrich Bernhard*, or *Diterbenada*; the older Wends have many a time heard him hunt, and can tell of unsavoury joints that he gives away for roasting.[1] *Berndietrich* too is the wild hunter's name in the Orlagau (Börner pp. 213-6. 236), where his dogs rouse and chase the wood-wives. Nay in the Harz, at the Bode-kessel (-crater) over the Ros-trappe (horse's footmark), stands the wild hunter turned into stone: 'we call him Bernhart' was a boy's account, and the father of the *Brunhild* that leapt across the Bodethal on her steed is called by the people 'he *of Bären*' (von Bern); this is the more significant, as Gibicho also (p. 137) is placed in the same mountains (Z. f. d. a. 1, 575). But from Fichte, himself a Lausitz man, we derive the information that *knecht Ruprecht* (p. 504) is there called *Dietrich von Bern* (Deut. heldensage p. 40). The two interpretations admit of being harmonized. *Knecht Ruprecht* makes his appearance beside *frau Berhta*, as her servant and companion (p. 514-5), sometimes her substitute, and like

from all hope, so in Swed. tradition the priest says to the musical 'neck:' 'sooner will this cane I hold in my hand grow green and blossom, than thou obtain salvation;' the neck sorrowfully throws his harp away, and weeps. The priest rides on, and presently his staff begins to put forth leaf and flower, he turns back to tell the marvel to the neck, who then plays joyful tunes the whole night long, Afz. 2, 156. But this myth of Tanhäuser accords with many others, esp. Celtic ones. *Tanhäuser* passes many a year with Holda in the mountain, so does *Tamlane* with the queen of fays, *Thomas* of Ercildon with the fairy queen (Scott's Minstr. 2, 193. 3, 181—3), *Ogier* 200 years with fata Morgana in Avalon: she had pressed a garland on his head, which made him forget everything, But the legend is Teutonic for all that, it is told in Sweden of the elf-king's daughter (p. 466 and Afz. 2, 141), and in the kinderm. of frau Fortuna, Altd. bl. 1, 297. And so does *Odysseus* stay with Calypso and with Circe; but who would think of *deriving* the story of Tanhäuser from that of Ulysses or Orpheus, as Mone does (Anz. 5, 168)?

[1] Joh. Hortzschansky's Sitten u. gebr. der Wenden, part 3 (Dessau and Görl. 1782) 3, 258. Laus. monatsschr. 1797 p. 749. Liebusch's Skythika p. 287.

her a terror to children. Add to this, that both *Ruprecht* and *Berhta* appear at Christmas; and, what is most decisive of all, *Wode* in Mecklenburg, like Berhta in Swabia, runs through the flax on the distaff, and *Wode*, like Ruprecht and Niclas, apportions good or evil to infants.[1] So that *Dietrich von Bern*, like trusty Eckhart, is entitled to appear in Wuotan's, Holda's, Berhta's train, or to fill their place. Then, in another connexion, Dietrich the fire-breathing, painted superhuman, is in poems of the Mid. Age fetched away, on a spectral fire-spirting steed, to hell or to the wilderness, there to fight with reptiles *till the Judgment-day* (D. heldensage 38—40). This agrees with our Altmark story of Hackelberg (p. 922); and in the compound *Hackel-berend*, the second half seems plainly to have led to Berend Bernhart and Dietrich-bern, as indeed the dreams of Hackelberg and Berend were identical (p. 923). Lastly, perhaps the Nethl. *Derk met den beer* (p. 213-4) ought to be taken into account here, not that I would derive his epithet from a misapprehension of Dietrich *von Bern* (see Suppl.).

We have come to know the wild host in two principal lights: as a nocturnal hunt of male, and as a stately progress of female, deities; both, especially the last, occurring at stated seasons. The precise meaning of the word 'host' calls for a third explanation: it marches as an army, it portends the outbreak of war.

Wuotan (the old *father of hosts*, p. 817), *Hackelbernd*, *Berhtolt*, bestriding their *white war-horse*, armed and spurred, appear still as *supreme directors of the war* for which they, so to speak, give licence to mankind. There is more than one legend of enchanted mountains, in whose interior becomes audible, from time to time, drumming, piping and the clash of arms: an ancient host of spirits and gods is shut up inside, and is arming to sally out. I do not know a finer, a more perfect legend in this respect than that of the *Odenberg* in Lower Hesse, which stands too in the immediate neighbourhood of a *Gudensberg* (i.e Wôdansberg), but distinct from it, so that 'Odenberg' cannot be explained by the ON. form Oðinn; it may come from ôd (felicitas), perhaps from ôdi (desertus). This long while the people have connected Odenberg not with the heathen deity, but

[1] Franke's Alt und neu Meckl. 1, 57. In Silesia children are stilled with the *night-hunter*, Deut. sag. no 270.

with Charles the great hero-king, and even with Charles V.[1] This emperor, owing to his treatment of Landgrave Philip, has left a lasting impression in Hesse: *Karle Quintes* with his soldiers is lodged in the Odenberg; and as the Swabian mother threatens her infant with the iron Berhta (p. 277), 'Be still, or the Prechtölterli will come,' and the Bavarian with 'Hush, there's Prechte coming to cut your belly open,' the Hessian of this district stills it by the exhortation 'Du, der *Quinte* kommt!' But in earlier times they meant *Charles the Great*, as is sufficiently proved by the legend of the thirsting army, known to the annalists (pp. 117. 153), and itself a deposit of still older heathen myths. Charles had moved his army into the mountains of the Gudensberg country, some say victorious, others in flight, from the east (Westphalia). His warriors pined with thirst, the king sat on a *snow-white steed;* then the horse stamped with his foot on the ground, and broke away a piece of rock; out of the opening gushed a bubbling spring (pp. 226. 584), and the whole army was watered. *Glisborn* is the name of the spring, to whose clear cold waves the country-folk impute a higher cleansing power than to common water, and women from surrounding villages come to wash their linen there. The stone with the hoof-mark may still be seen, let into the wall of Gudensberg churchyard. After that, king Charles *fought a great battle* at the foot of the Odenberg: the streaming *blood tore deep furrows* in the ground (they have often been filled up, but the rain always washes them open), the red waves rolled (wulchen) together, and poured down all the way to Bessa. Charles won the victory: in the evening the rock opened, took him and his exhausted soldiery in, and *closed its walls*. Here in the Odenberg the king rests from his valiant deeds; but he has promised to come out every seven (or every 100) years, and when that time is past, *you hear a rattling of arms in the air, neighing of horses and tramp of hoofs;* the procession passes by the Glisborn, where the steeds are watered, then goes on its way till, having finished its round, it returns at last into the mountain again. Once people were going past the Odenberg, and heard the roll of drums, but

[1] At Broterode they shew a fann (flag) of *Karles quintes*, and connect with it the bloody assize held at the place, really the MHG. 'Karles reht' or 'lôt,' Bechstein's Thür. sag. 2, 95.

saw nothing. A wise man bade them look, one after another, *through the ring* formed by his *arm held a-kimbo:* immediately they saw a multitude of soldiers, engaged in military exercises, go in and out of the mountain.[1] This looking through the arm gives assurance of the genuine primitive legend. Saxo Gram. p. 37 relates, that Biarco was unable to see *Othin*, who, mounted on *white steed* and covered with *white shield*, was aiding the hostile army of Swedes. Quoth Biarco to Ruta:

At nunc ille ubi sit qui vulgo dicitur *Othin*
armipotens, uno semper contentus *ocello?*
dic mihi, Ruta, precor, usquam si conspicis illum?
Ruta: Adde oculum propius, et *nostras prospice chelas,*
ante sacraturas victrici lumina signo,
si vis praesentem tuto cognoscere *Martem.*[2]
Biarco: Si potero horrendum *Friggæ* spectare *maritum,*
quantumcunque *albo clypeo* sit tectus et *album*
flectat equum, Lethra nequaquam sospes abibit.
fas est belligeram bello prosternere divam.

Looking through the *rounded arm* (chela, χηλή) enables one to see spirits (Altd. blätter 1, 290), so does looking over the *right shoulder* (p. 459n., Superst. I, 996) or between a *horse's ears*. And this the Hessian folktale has preserved. Plainly as Wuotan is indicated on the whole, the story seems at times to shift itself to Donar, for we are also told of a *red rider* on a *red horse* and with heron's plume of red wool, who on certain days of the year gallops round the wooded fringe of the Odenberg: it is the ghost of *Carolus quintus*. The description would better fit Frederic Barbarossa who sits entranced in the Kifhäuser, and red-haired Donar (see Suppl.).

Similar to this Odenberg host are the excursions of the *Rothenthaler* in Aargau,[3] of the *Rodensteiner* to *Schnellerts*,[4] of the grey man over the *Rockenstul* near Geisa in the Fulda country (Bechst.

[1] For this and other stories faithfully taken down from the lips of the peasantry, I am indebted to a kind communication from Herr Pfister, artill. officer of Electoral Hesse.

[2] As there can be no doubt about Othin, it is singular that Saxo should call him *Mars*. It serves to establish the original nearness of Wuotan to Zio (p. 197).

[3] Wyss's Reise ins Berner Oberland 2, 420.

[4] Deut. sag. no. 169. Schnellerts = house of Schnellert, Snellhart. A monstrous spirit named *Snellaart* in Marg. van Limb. 7[b].

Fränk. sag. 1, 68), and of others in other parts, see Mone's Anz. 3, 259. 8, 306; as the host passed over Wolfartsweiler, one of them shouted down: 'If thou suffer harm, bind thee with red yarn!' 8, 307. We read in Heimreich's Nordfries. chron. 2, 93 that outside Tondern in 1637 armies were seen mustering in the air and *fighting, in clear weather.*[1] An Irish folktale gives an account of the ancient chieftain *O'Donoghue*, who yearly on the first of May, mounted on a *milkwhite steed*, rises from the waters of a lake, to revisit his realm. On an August night, an *earl of Kildare* shews himself armed, on a splendid war-horse, and reviews the shades of his warriors (Elfenm. 192-3. 233). Strikingly similar to the 'duris, dürst' on pp. 521. 920 is a Finnic *Turisas*, god of war and at the same time a giant (turras, turrisas, tursas), who, when a war is imminent, has his drum beaten high up in the clouds. To the Lettons *johdi* or *murgi* means ghosts, souls of the dead; when the *northern lights flicker*, they say 'johdi kaujahs,' ghosts are fighting, or 'karru lauschu dwehseles kaujahs,' *the souls of fallen warriors fight.*[2] They connect the ghostly tumult with a shining phenomenon, as we do with a sounding one; it reminds one also of the war stirred up by our landsknechts in heaven itself, and still more of the ON. name for war and battle, '*Hiaðninga veðr* eða *èl*,' Hedaningorum tempestas vel procella, Sn. 163. In a lengthened fight the heroes had fallen, when Hildur the valkyrja came to the battle-field at night, *waked them all up*, and let them fight it over again, and so every day *till the end of the world they shall do battle by day* and lie dead at night. This, I think, is the very earliest example of an army warring in the clouds, which was a way of explaining the natural phenomenon, as we see by the words 'veðr, èl.' Of a battle between Swedes and Croats the Thuringians have a story, that on its anniversary, at 11 o'clock at night, all the buried soldiers *start up* and *begin to fight afresh* till the clock strikes one, then they sink into the ground and lie quite still again for a year, Bechst. 4, 231 (see Suppl.).

[1] Guicciardini's Hist. d'Italia (1583) p. 22: 'Risuonava per tutto la fama, essere nel territorio d' Arezzo passati *visibilmente* molti di *per l'aria infiniti huomini armati*, sopra grossissimi cavalli e con *terribile strepito di suoni di trombe e di tamburi*.' Conf. the Dan. legend of *Klintekönig's* or *Ellekönig's* trooping out, Thiele, 1, 98. 3, 55. Even children marching with pike and flag portend war, Superst. I, 106.

[2] Stender's Lett. gram. (1783) p. 262-6. Bergmann p. 145.

But the Romance nations have no less their own traditions of this aërial host, which on some points agree exactly with the German.

In France such an air-picture of contending spirits goes by the name of *Hellequin, Hielekin* (Bosquet 70—77), and in Spain of *exercito antiguo*.[1] Guilielm. Alvernus (d. 1248) p. 1037: 'de equitibus vero nocturnis, qui vulgari gallicano *Hellequin*, et vulgari hispanico *exercitus antiquus* vocantur, nondum tibi satisfeci, quia nondum declarare intendo qui sint; nec tamen certum est eos malignos spiritus esse, loquar igitur tibi de his in sequentibus.' P. 1065: 'de substantiis apparentibus in similitudine *equitantium* et *bellatorum*, et in similitudine *exercituum innumerabilium*, interdum autem et *paucorum equitum*.' P. 1067: 'narratur quoque, quod quidam videns hujusmodi *exercitum* (at a parting of roads) terrore percussus a via publica *declinavit in agrum contiguum*, ubi quasi in refugio, *transeunte juxta illum toto illo exercitu*, illaesus permansit et nihil mali passus est ab illis. propter quod opinio inolevit apud multos, *agros gaudere protectione Creatoris* propter utilitatem hominum, et hac de causa non esse accessum malignis spiritibus ad eos, neque potestatem nocendi propter hanc causam hominibus existentibus in eis. Gens autem idolatrarum tutelam istam et defensionem, si eam vel crederet vel audiret, *numinibus arvorum* illam attribueret. opinor autem, quod *Cererem deam*, quae agris praeest, hujusmodi hominem protexisse crederent, exercitumque illum intra fines regnumque Cereris nemini posse nocere.' P. 1073: 'nec te removeat aut conturbet ullatenus vulgaris illa Hispanorum nominatio, qua malignos spiritus, qui *in armis ludere* ac *pugnare* videri consueverunt, *exercitum antiquum* nominant, magis enim anilis et delirantium vetularum nominatio est quam veritatis.' Radulfus de Presles ad libr. 15 cap. 23 De civ. Dei: 'la mesgnée de *Hellequin*, de dame Habonde (p. 286), et des esperis quils appellent fees.' Ducange sub v. In the Jeu d'Adan, the *maisnie Hielekin* is heard approaching with tinkling bells, the three fays (p. 411) accompanying, and a *sires Hellequins* is named. Reiffenberg's Renseign. p. 94. Vincent. bellov. lib. 30 cap. 118, and after him Keisersp. (Omeiss 37-8) mention a certain *Natalis, Alle quinti,*

[1] I.e. the vast throng of the dead (p. 847): 'he geit in 't olde heer' = he dies, Narragonia 84ᵇ. 'dem *alten haufen* zuschicken,' Keisersp. serm. on Brant. p. m. 43.

Karoli quinti, who when dead appeared again, and, being questioned on the furious host, reported that it had ceased ever since *Carolus quintus* performed his penance. To the furious host is here given the name *Caroliquinti*, some say *Allequinti*, obviously the same thing as *Hellequin* and our Hessian *Karlequinte* in the Odenberg, p. 938. Nevertheless it seems a false interpretation of the older Hellequin, whose mesnie is mentioned several times in poems of the 13th cent.[1] as well as by Guil. Alvernus, and who cannot therefore be the French king Charles V. of the latter half of the 14th cent. That in France too they connect Charles the Great with the furious host, appears from a Burgundian poem of the 17th cent., in which *Charlemagne* bestrides his horse at the head of the airy apparition, and *Roland* carries the standard (Journ. des savans 1832, p. 496). But what if *Hellequin* were after all the German helle (underworld) or its diminutive hellekin, personified and made masculine?[2] At Tours they say *chasse brijuet* (briguet is hound), and *le carosse du roi Hugon*,[3] who rides round the city walls at night, and beats or carries off all that encounter him. Here also king Hugo Capet's carriage represents that of a heathen god; in Poitou they call it *chasse-gallerie*. In the forest of Fontainebleau *le grand veneur* is supposed to hunt.

In Gervase of Tilbury's time the British woods already rang with *king Arthur's* mighty hunt (Ot. imp. 2, 12): 'narrantibus nemorum custodibus, quos forestarios vulgus nominat, se alternis diebus circa horam meridianam et in primo noctium conticinio sub plenilunio luna lucente saepissime videre *militum copiam venantium* et *canum* et *cornuum strepitum*, qui sciscitantibus se de *societate et familia Arturi* esse affirmant.' The Complaynt of Scotland p. 97-8 says: 'Arthour knycht he raid on nycht with gyldin spur and candillycht.' The *elf-queen* and the *fays* have already been spoken of (p. 934n.). Shakspeare (M. Wives of W. iv, 4. v, 5) tells how '*Herne the hunter* doth all the winter time at still midnight walk round about an oak.'[4]

[1] E.g. in Richard sans peur, in the Roman de Fauvel; conf. Jubinal's Contes 1, 284. Michel's Théâtre fr. pp. 73—76.

[2] Kausler's Chron. v. Flandern 8049: 'ten *Hallekine*,' at little hell (name of a place).

[3] Mém. des antiq. 8, 458. Noei bourguignons p. 237. Thuanus lib. 24 p. 1104.

[4] Herne too, if a myth, had got localized: 'sometime a keeper here in Windsor forest.'—TRANS.

Boccaccio (Decam. 5, 8) has the story of a ghost who, having been done to death by his false mistress, chases her naked through the wood *every Friday*, and has her torn to pieces by his hounds: every time she is slain, she rises again, and the gruesome hunt begins anew. Manni says the tale is taken out of Helinand; it may afford some solution of the wild hunter's pursuit of the wood-wife (p. 929), even if we are bound, as is fair, to trace the novelist's plot in the first instance to the simple basis of a folktale. In the poem on Etzel's court, the *Wunderer* shews himself almost exactly such a wild man and hunter; he chases *frau Sælde* with his dogs, and threatens to devour her, as the hunter does the fleeing wood-wife, or the infernalis venator a departed soul (see Suppl.). Far more important is a story in the Eckenlied: *Fasolt* hunts with hounds a *wild maiden* in the forest, just as the wild hunter does the *holzweiblein*, Lassberg's ed. 161—201, Hagen's 213—54, conf. 333. This becomes of moment to our understanding of *Fasolt*, who was a storm-giant (pp. 530. 636), and here turns up like Wuotan in the wild host.

Between the Norse legends and ours the links are not so far to seek. The Danes have made a wild hunter of their famous and beloved king *Waldemar*. The Zealand fable represents him, like Charles the Great (p. 435n.), as irresistibly drawn, by a magic ring, to a maiden, and after her death to a woodland district. He dwells in the forest of Gurre, and there hunts night and day;[1] like Hackelberg, he uttered the presumptuous wish: 'God may *keep his heaven*, so long as I can *hunt* in Gurre *for evermore!*' So now he rides from Burre to Gurre every night; as soon as the ear can catch his 'hoho' and the crack of his whip, the people slink aside under the trees. Foremost in the train run coal-black hounds, with fiery red-hot tongues hanging out of their throats; then appears *Wolmar* on a *white horse*, sometimes carrying *his head under his left arm* (conf. Superst. I, 605). If he meets any men, especially old men, he gives them hounds to hold. He follows one particular route, doors and locks fly open before him, and his track is named *Wolmar's street, Voldemars-vej* (Antiqvariske annaler 1, 15); here one cannot help thinking of Irmingstræt and Eriksgata (p. 356—361). Those

[1] In hunting he practises cruelties on the peasantry; he also chases a mermaid, Thiele 1, 46. 52.

who have held his hounds he presents with seeming trifles, which afterwards turn into gold: he will give a ducat for a horse-shoe (Thiele 1, 89—95). These stories are alike suggestive of Charles the Great, of Hackelberg, and of frau Holla or Perhta; conf. Müllenhoff's Schlesw. holst. sag. nos. 485-6.

In the I. of Möen is a wood named Grünewald: there every night the *Grönjette* hunts on horseback, his *head tucked under his left arm*, a spear in his right, and a pack of hounds about him. In harvest time the husbandmen *leave him a bundle of oats for his horse*, that he may not trample their crops that night; by this one circumstance we recognise Wuotan (p. 155), and perhaps Frey (p. 212).[1] He is here a *jette*, as in Switzerland he is a *durst* (p. 940). The 'grön,' I would explain, not by the green colour of his hunting dress, but by the ON. grön (barba), Grönjette= ON. graniötunn, bearded giant; and *Grani* (barbatus) is a name of Oðinn (p. 858). Grönjette, like Wolmar, makes the peasants hold his dogs; he also hunts the *merwoman* (conf. wood-wife). One man saw him return with the dead merwoman laid across his horse: 'seven years have I chased her, now in Falster I have slain her.' He made the man a present of the band with which he had held the hounds, and the longer he kept it, the richer he grew (Thiele 1, 95–97).

In Fünen the hunter is *Palnejäger*, i.e. the ON. *Pâlnatôki* (Fornm. sög. 11, 49—99. Thiele 1, 110): a far-famed hero (p. 381).

In some parts of Denmark, instead of naming *Wolmar*, they say 'den *flyvende jäger*,' flying huntsman, or 'den *flyvende Markolfus*;' in Kallundborg district the hunt is transferred to a later king: *Christian the Second* rides on a *white horse* and with *black hounds* (Thiele 1, 187).

In Schleswig hunts king *Abel*: 'in eo loco ubi sepultus est . . . venatoris cornu inflantis vocem et sonum exaudiri, multi fide digni referunt, et affirmant usque adeo similem, ut venatorem ibi venari quis diceret, idque saepe a vigilibus qui Gottorpii nocte

[1] Still closer comes the statement in Thiele p. 192: in olden days it was the custom in the I. of Möen, when they were harvesting, and had tied the last sheaf of oats, to throw it on the field with the words: 'this for the *jöde of Upsala, this let him have for his horse on Yule-eve!*' and if they did not do it, their cattle died. The 'jötunn of Upsala' is a christian euphemism for Wodan or Oðinn, whose divine image is set up at Upsala. The phraseology might originate at a period when Denmark was converted and Sweden remained heathen.

vigilare solent audiri: sed et *Abelem* multis nostra aetate apparuisse et visum esse constans omnium est rumor, *ore et corpore atrum, equo pusillo vectum,* comitatum canibus tribus venaticis, qui et saepe specie ignea et ardere visi sunt,' Cypraei Ann. episc. slesvic. p. 267; conf. Thiele 2, 63. 142. Dahlmann's Dän. gesch. 1, 408. Müllenhoff nos. 487-8.

With Swedish traditions of the wild hunter I am imperfectly acquainted, but they may safely be inferred from what is told of the strömkarls-lag (p. 492), that its eleventh variation is reserved for the use of the *night spirit and his host;* and we found a point of agreement between the 'neck' and our elf-natured Tanhäuser (p. 936n.). Sweden retains too the primitive fashion of referring the natural phenomenon to the god (p. 919). Tales are told of two ardent sportsmen, Nielus Hög and Jennus Maar (Arwidsson 2, 71).

One Norwegian story offers rich material. Souls that have not done so much good as to win heaven, nor yet harm enough to merit hell, drunkards, scoffers, tricksters, are doomed to *ride about* until the end of the world. At the head of the cavalcade comes *Gurorysse* or *Reisarova*[1] with her long tail, by which you may know her from the rest; she is followed by a great multitude of either sex. Rider and steed have a stately appearance in front; from behind you see nothing but Guro's *long tail.* The horses are coal-black, have glowing eyes, and are governed with fiery rods and iron reins: the noise of the troop is heard from afar. They *ride over water* as over land, their hoofs scarce skimming the surface. When they throw a *saddle on a roof,* some person will presently die in that house; where they expect drunken revelry, rioting and murder, they come and sit over the door;[2] they keep still so long as no crime is committed, but when it is, they *laugh out loud,*[3] and rattle their iron rods. They make their journeys at Yule-tide, when there is much carousing. If you hear them come, you must get out of the way, or throw yourself *flat on the ground*[4] and feign sleep, for there have been cases of

[1] 'Guro rysserova = Gudrun horse-tail.'—SUPPL.

[2] 'Quia Mors secus introitum delectationis posita est.' Regula Benedicti, cap. 7.

[3] Conf. '*manes ridere* videns' in the Waltharius 1040.

[4] As on p. 922: a precaution prescribed in all the folktales (Bechstein's Thür. sag. 4, 234 and Fränk. sag. 1, 57). It is practised in Italy when hot winds blow.

living men being dragged along with the moving mass. An upright man, who takes that precaution, has nought to fear, save that each of the company spits upon him; when they are gone, he must spit out again, or he will take harm. In some parts, this ghostly array is called *aaskereia, aaskerej, aaskereida,* in others *hoskelreia;* the former corrupted from *âsgard-reida, -reid,* the Asgard march, whether as a passage of souls to heaven, or as a journey of gods, of valkyrs, visiting earth; or may it not be more simply explained by åska (lightning) and reid (thunder)? in which case it would be confined more to a manifestation of Thor. Sometimes you do not see the procession, but only hear it rush through the air. Whoever does not make the sign of the cross on his stable-doors the three nights of Yule, will in the morning find his *horses blown and dripping with sweat* (p. 661), because they have been taken and ridden (Faye 70—72).

Guro is apparently the same as *gurri,* ON. *gîfr* (giantess, p. 526); but *gurri* is also *huldra* (Faye 10), who is described as a beautiful woman with a hideous *tail* (ib. 25. 39). *Huldra* may be likened to our *Holda* all the more, because she takes unchristened infants with her. *Guro,* as a leader of the furious host, answers perfectly to the description given of all the others[1] (see Suppl.).

If we now review the entire range of German and Scandinavian stories about the Furious Host, the following facts come to the front. The myth exhibits gods and goddesses of the heathen time. Of gods: *Wuotan,* and perhaps *Fro,* if I may take 'Berhtolt' to mean him. We can see Wuotan still in his epithets of the *cloaked,* the *bearded,* which were afterwards misunderstood and converted into proper names. Saxo Gram. p. 37 says of *Othin:* '*albo clypeo* tectus, *album* (s. l. pro 'altum') flectens *equum.*' Sleipnir was a *light gray* horse (Sn. 47), what was called apple-gray (pommelé, AS. æppelfealo). Then we see both the name and the meaning [m. or f.] fluctuate between *frô Wôdan* and *frôwa Gôde.* A goddess commanding the host, in lieu of the god, is *Holda,* his wife in fact. I am more and more firmly convinced, that 'Holda' can be nothing but an epithet of the mild

[1] Can the '*Gurre* wood' in the Waldemar legend have arisen, like 'Hakel wood,' out of the personal name? Conf. Halja and hell. In Schmidt's Fastelabendsamml. p. 76 we find the combination 'der *Woor,* die *Goor,* der *wilde jäger.*

'gracious' *Fricka;* conf. Sommer's Thür. sag. 165-6. And *Berhta,* the shining, is identical with her too; or, if the name applies more to *Frouwa,* she is still next-door to her, as the Norse Freyja was to Frigg. It is worth noting, that here Norweg. legend also names a 'Huldra,' not Frigg nor Freyja. The dogs that surround the god's airy chariot may have been Wuotan's wolves setting up their howl. A Scand. story not well authenticated [1] makes *Oðinn* be wounded by a boar, like Hakelbernd, and this wounding seems altogether legendary (p. 921-2); when the boar sucked the blood out of the sleeping god, some drops fell on the earth, which turned into flowers the following spring.

These divinities present themselves in a twofold aspect. Either as visible to human eyes, visiting the land at some holy tide, bringing welfare and blessing, accepting gifts and offerings of the people that stream to meet them. Or floating unseen through the air, perceptible in cloudy shapes, in the roar and howl of the winds (p. 632), carrying on *war, hunting* or the game of *ninepins,* the chief employments of ancient heroes: an array which, less tied down to a definite time, explains more the natural phenomenon (conf. Haupt's Zeitschr. 6, 1291. 131). I suppose the two exhibitions to be equally old, and in the myth of the wild host they constantly play into one another. The fancies about the Milky Way have shewn us how ways and waggons of the gods run in the sky as well as on the earth.

With the coming of Christianity the fable could not but undergo a change. For the solemn march of gods, there now appeared a pack of horrid spectres, dashed with dark and devilish ingredients. Very likely the heathen themselves had believed that spirits of departed heroes took part in the divine procession; the christians put into the host the unchristened dead, the drunkard, the suicide (conf. p. 822), who come before us in frightful forms of mutilation. The 'holde' goddess turns into an 'unholde,' still beautiful in front, but with a tail behind.[2] So much of her ancient charms as could not be stript off was held to be seductive and sinful: and thus was forged the legend of the Venus-mount. Their ancient offerings too the

[1] Wassenberg p. 72. Creuzer's Symb. 2, 98. I fear Rudbeck had the boldness to adapt the legend of Adonis (p. 949n.) to Oden.

[2] Conf. 'frau Welt,' dame World, in Conrad's poem p. 196 seq.

people did not altogether drop, but limited them to the sheaf of oats for the celestial steed, as even Death (another hunter, p. 845-6) has his bushel of oats found him (p. 844).

When *born again as heroes*, the gods retained their genuine old character undimmed. Thus we see *Dietrich, Ekhart, Arthur, Charles, Waldemar, Palnatoke*, nay, king *Christian*, significantly incorporated in the roving company, without the slightest detriment to their dignity or repute among the people. At the same time its due weight must be allowed to another view, which degrades the gods into *devils*, the goddesses into hags and witches: here the devil might easily spring out of the *giant* of old.

The last lodgment found by the fable is when it settles on individual hunters and lovers of hunting of modern times, such as *Hackelberg*, the heath-rider *Bären*, squire *Marten*, *Mansberg* the baron, &c. These look almost like historic personages, but narrowly examined they will in every case melt into mythic ones. The people's conscientious care to point out Hakelnbernd's tomb seems to indicate a heathen worship, to which even monuments of stone were consecrated.

The similar course taken by the history of the myth in Scandinavia and in Germany is a fresh guarantee that the same heathen faith prevailed there and here. Saxony, Westphalia, Mecklenburg, Hesse have still several features in common with the North; South Germany has retained fewer. So there come out points of agreement with Celtic legend; none with Slavic, that I can discover, unless the nocturnal rides of Svantovit (p. 662) are to be taken into account.

I have yet to mention an agreement with Greek fable, which seems to prove the high antiquity of that notion of a *giant* and *hunter*. To the Greeks, *Orion* was a gigantic (πελώριος) huntsman, who *in the underworld* continues to chase the quarry on the Asphodel-mead (Od. 11, 572), and forms a brilliant constellation. Homer speaks of Orion's hound (Il. 22, 29) seen in the sky below him; in flight before him are the Pleiads (a bevy of wild doves, Od. 12, 62), and the Great Bear herself appears to watch him (δοκεύει, Od. 5, 274).[1] Did our ancestors connect

[1] O. Müller on Orion (Rhein. mus. f. philol. 2, 12).

the same group of stars with their myth of the wild hunt? I have left it doubtful on p. 727. We might, for one thing, see such a connexion in Orion's AS. name of *boar-throng* (eoforþryng); and secondly add, that the three stars of his belt are called the *distaff of Fricka*, who as 'Holda' heads the furious host, and looks after her spinsters just at the time of his appearing at Christmas. Can it be, that when the constellation takes name from Fricka, her spindle is made prominent; and when Wuotan or a giant-hero lends his name, the herd of hunted boars is emphasized? The Greek fable unfolds itself yet more fully. Orion is struck blind, and is led to new light by Kedalion, a marvellous child who sits on his shoulders. Might not we match this *blind* giant with our *headless* wild hunter?[1] A feature that strikes me still more forcibly is, that Artemis (Diana) causes a *scorpion* to come up out of the ground, who *stings* Orion *in the ankle*, so that he dies:[2] when the sign Scorpio rises in the sky, Orion sinks. This is like Hackelberend's *foot* being pierced by the wild boar's tusk, and causing his death (pp. 921. 947). Orion's [cosmic] rising is at the summer, his setting at the winter solstice: he blazes through the winter nights, just when the furious host is afoot. Stormy winds attend him (nimbosus Orion, Aen. 1, 535); the gift is given him of walking on the sea (Apollod. i. 4, 3), as the steeds in the aaskereia skim over the wave. Orion's relation to Artemis is not like that of Wuotan to Holda, for these two are never seen together in the host; but Holda by herself bears a strong resemblance to *Artemis* or *Diana* (p. 267. 270), still more to the nightly huntress *Hecate*, at whose approach *dogs whimper* (as with frau Gaude), who, like Hel, is scented by the dogs (p. 667),[3] and for whom a paltry pittance was placed (as for Berhta and the wild woman, p.

[1] A malefactor, whose crime is not divulged before his death, is doomed to wander with his *head under his arm* (Superst. I, 605). Can the being struck (or growing) blind be meant to express ghostly wandering?

[2] Aratus Phaenom. 637. Ov. Fast. 5, 541. Lucan Phars. 9, 832. Adonis got his death-wound from the boar. Nestor (Jos. Müller 101) tells us, it was prophesied to Oleg that he would die of his *horse*; he still had it fed, but would not see it again. Five years after, he inquired about it, and was told it was dead. Then he laughed at soothsayers, and went into the stable, where the horse's skeleton lay, but when he trod on the skull, a snake darted out of it and stung him in the foot, whereof he sickened and died (see Suppl.).

[3] Apparently a slip; for that was Athena.—TRANS.

432) at the trivium (OHG. driwikki),[1] conf. Theocr. 2, 15 and Virg. Aen. 4, 609: 'nocturnis Hecate triviis ululata per urbes.' Lucian's Φιλοψευδής cap. 22. 24 tells us how such a Ἑκάτη appeared in the wood to Eucrates, and the yelping dogs are there too (see Suppl.).

Tacitus Germ. 43 thus describes the Harii, a people of N.E. Germany: 'truces insitae feritati arte ac tempore lenocinantur; nigra scuta, tincta corpora, atras ad proelia noctes legunt, ipsaque formidine atque *umbra feralis exercitus* terrorem inferunt, nullo hostium sustinente novum ac velut *infernum* aspectum' (see Suppl.). Is this about 'host of the dead' and 'hellish array' Roman rhetoric, or was it contained in descriptions of this people given by Germans themselves? An airy host (p. 940) is also spoken of by Pliny 2, 57: '*armorum crepitus* et *tubae sonitus* auditos *e coelo* Cimbricis bellis accepimus, crebroque et prius et postea; tertio vero consulatu Marii ab Amerinis et Tudertibus spectata *arma coelestia* ab ortu occasuque *inter se concurrentia*, pulsis quae ab occasu erant.'

[1] Cross-roads, the parting of ways, are a trouble to frau Gaude. Festus sub v. 'pilae, effigies' says these were hung up at such places for the Lares.

CHAPTER XXXII.

TRANSLATION.

An idea specially characteristic of our mythology is that of *Entrückung* (removal), which, while extending to the subjects of the foregoing chapter, has a wider range besides.

Verwünschen (ill-wishing) is the uttering of a curse or ban, maledicere, diris devovere, Goth. *fraqviþan*, OHG. *farwâzan*, MHG. *verwâzen*; as I do not find verwünschen in our older speech, I explain it simply as the opposite of wünschen (fausta apprecari), and refrain from supposing in it a reference to the old 'wunsch,' the perfection of felicity.[1]

This *banning* differs from *metamorphosis*, inasmuch as it does not transform, but rather throws a spell upon things in their natural shape, only removing them into a new position; though common parlance calls whatever is transformed 'verwünscht' (banned). Further, what is *metamorphosed* remains, till the moment of its emancipation, in the new shape given it, visible to all eyes, e.g. the stone or tree into which a man has been changed; whereas, when a thing is *banned*, in the sense in which I use the word, it seems to me essential that it be *withdrawn* from our senses, and only re-appear from time to time, and then in the same shape as before. In other words: what is *metamorphosed* remains corporeal, what is *banned* becomes imperceptible, and can only on certain conditions become corporeal again, in the same way as invisible spirits can at will assume grosser material shapes. *Vanishing*[2] is therefore voluntary translation (to another sphere), a prerogative of gods (p. 325) and spirits, also of some heroes that are possessed of a magic mask (grîma) or concealing helmet; translated men are spirit-like,

[1] Note the O. Fr. antithesis between *souhait* (wish) and *dehait* (verwünschung); both words are wanting in the other Romance tongues, they have their root in OHG. heiz, ON. heit (votum).

[2] 'Frau Sælde *verswant*,' vanished, Etzel's hofh. 210.

and another expression for it is: 'they *sleep*,' they only wake from time to time[1] (see Suppl.).

And not only persons, but things, are translatable. Persons that vanish and re-appear are precisely in the condition of the spectres dealt with in the last chapter: just as souls of dead men there got identified with heroes and gods, so here we come upon the same gods and heroes again. Vanished gods get confounded with enchanted spell-bound heroes.

With our people a favourite mode of representing translation is to shut up the enchanted *inside a mountain*, the *earth*, so to speak, *letting herself be opened* to receive them.[2] More than one idea may be at work here together: motherly earth hides the dead in her bosom, and the world of souls is an underground world; elves and dwarfs are imagined living inside mountains, not so much in the depths of the earth as in *hills* and *rocks* that rise above the level ground; but popular forms of cursing choose all manner of phrases to express the very lowest abyss.[3] The Swed. *bergtagen* (taken into mountain) means sunken, *bergtagning*

[1] See the famous legends of the *Seven Sleepers* (Greg. Tur. mirac. 1, 95. Paul Diac. 1, 3), and of *Endymion*, who lies in eternal sleep on Mt. Latmos. Conf. Pliny 7, 52: Puerum aestu et itinere fessum in specu septem et quinquaginta dormisse annis, rerum faciem mutationemque mirantem, velut postero experrectum die; hinc pari numero dierum senio ingruente, ut tamen in septimum et quinquagesimum atque centesimum vitae duraret annum;' and the German story of the three miners. *Shepherds* slept in caves 7 years, or 7 times 7 (Mone's Anz. 7, 54).

[2] An impatient longing to *disappear* we express by the phrases 'I should like to *creep into the earth*,' and '*jump out of my skin*,' the same thing that is called at the end of the Lament (Nib.): 'sich *versliefen* und *ûz der hiute triefen* in lôcher der steinwende,' trickle away, so to speak. O. iv. 26, 43 has: 'ruafet thesên *bergon*, bittet sie thaz sie *fallên ubar iuih*, joh bittet ouh thie *buhila* thaz sie iuih *thekên* obana, ir biginnet thanne *innan erda sliafan*, joh suintet filu thrâto.' Hel. 166, 3: 'than gi sô gerna sind, that iu hier *bihlidan hôha bergôs*, diopo *bidelban*,' be-lid and deep be-delve you. Much of this language is Biblical (Isa. 2, 19; Hos. 10, 8; Luke 23, 30; Rev. 6, 15, 16), but the sentiment of many nations will run alike in such matters. Nib. 867, 2: 'mir troumte, wie *obe dir ze* tal *vielen zwêne berge*,' I dreamt, two mts fell on thee. That jumping out of one's skin, like a snake casting his slough, may also come of joy and anger, O.Fr. 'a poi n' *ist de·sa pel*,' is well nigh out of his skin, Ogier 6688. Nethl. 'het is om *uit zijn vel te springen*.' So in our Elis. von Orleans, ed. Schütz p. 223; 'for joy,' Ettn.'s Unw. doctor 856. Not unlike is that *jumping into stone* spoken of on p. 552; as early as Alb. von Halb. 143^b: 'at one leap he turned into stone.'

[3] They wish you '100,000 fathom under ground;' 'as far down as a hare can run in two years' (p. 179); 'so low, that no *cock crows after* (or to) *thee*,' and the like. What does the last formula mean? that the cock's crow can no longer, even in the hush of night, reach the sunken man? or that those above ground cannot hear the cry of the fowl that has sunk with him to the subterranean dwelling? In Kinderm. 2, 32 it is said of the princesses: 'se versünken alle drei so deip unner de eere, dat kien *haan* mer *danach krehete*.' 'So *kreet* doch kein *han* nach mir,' and 'kein *han* fort da nach *krehen* thut,' H. Sachs iii. 2, 178^b. 213^c.

translation, Sv. visor 1, 1. Afz. 1, 28. 33. In Asbiörnsen and Moe no. 38 '*indtagen* i bierget;' and Faye 35-6 quotes striking instances of this '*indtages* i höie og fjelde,' being taken into height and fell. ON. *gânga inn î fiallit*, Nialss. cap. 14. 135 (see Suppl.).

We understand now, why frau *Holda*, frau *Venus* and their following *dwell in mountains:* they are sequestered there, till the time come for holding their progress among men. So live Wôdan and king Charles in the *Odenberg*.

Here and there a man has gained entrance into such mountains; Tanhäuser sojourned many years at the court of Venus. A blacksmith was looking in the underwood on the *Odenberg* for a hawthorn to make his hammer-helve, when suddenly he saw a gap he had never noticed before in the face of the cliff; he stept in, and stood in a new world of wonders. Strong men were bowling balls of iron, they challenged him to play, but he declined, the iron balls, he said, were too heavy for his hand. The men were not offended, they told him to choose what present he would have. He begged for one of their balls, took it home, and put it among his stock of iron. Afterwards, wanting to work it, he made it red hot, but it burst in pieces on the anvil, and every piece was *sheer gold*.[1] He never again found the opening in the Odenberg; he had happened that time to hit the day when it stands open to men, as it does on certain days of the year to Sunday children. They see an old man with a *long beard*, holding in his hand a metal goblet (as Charles in Romance epic always has the epithet 'a la barbe florie,' and Oðinn too was called *Lângbarðr*, *Harbarðr*, *Siðskeggr*). Inside the mountain they have presents given them, as in the Kifhäuser.

In the *Guckenberg*[2] near Fränkischgemünden, a *kaiser* disappeared with all his army a long time ago; but when *his beard has grown three times round the table* at which he sits, he will come out again with all his men. Once a poor boy, who went about the neighbourhood selling rolls, met an old man on the mountain, and complained that he could not sell much. 'I will

[1] This skittle-playing sounds like rolling thunder (p. 167). They say in N. Germ. when it thunders, 'the angels are playing at bowls.'

[2] Not Gouchsberg nor Kaukasus (p. 681); but rather the mt of the progenitor *Guogo* (guggäni, Z. f. d. a. 1, 23), or of the beetle (guegi, p. 183). Meichelb. 1182 ad Guoginhûsun; Trad. fuld. 2, 33 in Gougeleibu.

shew thee a place,' said the man, 'where thou canst bring thy rolls every day, but thou must tell no man thereof.' He then led the boy into the mountain, where there was plenty of life and bustle, people buying and selling; the *kaiser* himself sat at a table, and his *beard* had grown *twice round it.* The lad now brought his rolls there every day, and was paid in ancient coin, which at last the people in his village would not take; they pressed him to tell how he came by it, then he confessed all that had taken place. Next day, when he wished to go into the mountain, he could not so much as see it, let alone find the entrance (Mone's Anz. 4. 409, and thence in Bechst. Fränk. sag. p. 103). So between Nürnberg and Fürt stands *kaiser Carls berg,* out of which in former times came the sound of singing, and of which a similar tale is told about carrying bread; in a vaulted chamber the baker's boy saw *men in armour* sitting (Mone's Anz. 5, 174).

In Westphalia, between Lübbecke and Holzhausen, above Mehnen village on the Weser, stands a hill called die Babilonie,[1] in which *Wedekind* (Weking) sits enchanted, waiting till his time come; favoured ones who find the entrance are dismissed with gifts (Redeker's Westf. sag. no. 21).

An older myth is preserved in the Chron. ursbergense (Auersperg) ad an. 1223 (Pertz 8, 261)*: In pago Wormaciensi videbantur per aliquot dies non modica et *armata multitudo equitum* euntium et redeuntium, et quasi ad placitum colloquium nunc hic nunc illic turbas facere, circa nonam vero horam *cuidam monti, quo et exiisse videbantur,* se reddere. Tandem quidam de incolis regionis illius, non sine magno timore hujusmodi tam prodigiosae concioni, crucis signaculo munitus appropinquat. Mox quandam ex illis occurrentem sibi personam per nomen omnipotentis Domini nostri, manifestare causam populi qui sic apparuerit, adjurat. Cui ille inter cetera 'Non sumus' inquit, 'ut putatis, fantasmata, nec militum, ut vobis cernimur, turba, sed *animae militum interfectorum,* arma vero et habitus et equi, quia nobis prius fuerant instrumenta peccandi, nunc nobis sunt materia tormenti, et vere totum ignitum est quod in nobis cernitis, quamvis id vos corporalibus oculis discernere non possitis.' In hujusmodi

[1] Several times in MHG. poems 'diu *wüeste Babilône.*'

comitatu dicitur etiam Emicho comes ante paucos annos (an. 1117) occisus apparuisse, et ab hac poena orationibus et eleemosynis se posse redimi docuisse.' *Donnersberg*, Tonnerre (p. 170) was then in the Wormazfeld, it must therefore be the mountain in and out of which the ancient ghosts kept riding: souls of fallen and resuscitated heroes (p. 940), but by the christian eye seen here in hell-fire.

In the old *mountain castle* of Geroldseck *Siegfried* and other heroes are supposed to dwell, and thence they will appear to the German nation in its time of utmost need, Deut. sag. no. 21. A *cleft in a rock* by the L. of Lucerne, some say on the Grütli, holds *in sleep* the *three founders* of the Swiss Federation; they will *wake* when their country wants them, ibid. no. 297. At the *Kifhäuser* in Thuringia sleeps *Frederic Barbarossa*: he sits at a round stone table, resting his head on his hand, nodding, with blinking eyes; his *beard grows round the table*, it has already made the circuit *twice*, and when it has *grown round the third time*, the king will *awake*. On coming out he will *hang his shield* on a *withered tree*, which will *break into leaf*, and a *better time* will dawn. Yet some have seen him awake: a shepherd having piped a lay that pleased him well, *Frederick* asked him: '*fly the ravens* round the mountain still?' the shepherd said yes: 'then must I sleep *another* 100 *years*.'[1] The shepherd was led into

[1] Similar questions are put by the *blind giant* in a Swed. folktale, which I insert here from Bexell's Halland (Götheborg 1818) 2, p. 301: Några sjömän ifrån Getinge blefvo på hafvet af stormarne förde emot en okänd ö (seamen from G. driven by storms to an unknown isle), omgifne af mörker uppstiga de der (landed in the dark). De blefvo varse en på afstånd upptänd eld (saw a lighted fire), och skynda dit. Framför elden ligger en ovanligt lång man, som var blind; en annan af lika jättestorlek (another of like giant size), står bredvid honom och rör i elden med en iärnstång. Den *gamle blinde mannen* reser sig upp, och frågar de ankomne främlingarne, hvarifrån de voro. De svara, ifrån Halland och Getinge socken. Hvarpå den blinde frågar: '*lefver ennu den hvita qvinnan* (lives the white woman still)?' De svarade ja, fast de ej viste hvad han härmed menade. Åter sporde han: 'månne mitt *gethus* står ännu qvar (stands my goat-house yet)?' De svarade återigen ja, ehuru de äfven voro okunnige om hvad han menade. Då sade han: 'jag fick ej hafva mitt *gethus* i fred för den kyrkan som byggdes på den platsen. Viljen I komma lyckligt hem, välan, jag lemnar er dertill tvenne vilkor.' De lofva, och den *gamle blinde* fortfor: 'tagen detta *sölfbälte*, och när I kommen hem, så spännen det på den *hvita qvinnan*, och denne *ask* stätten den på altaret i mitt *gethus*.' Lyckligen återkomne till hembygden, rådfråga sig sjömännerne huru de skulle efterkomma den gamle blinde mannens begäran. Man beslöt at spänna bältet *omkring en björk*, och *björken for i luften*, och at sätta asken på en *kulle* (grave-mound), och straxt *stör kullen i Giusan låga*. Men efter det kyrkan är bygd der den blinde mannen hade sitt gethus, har hon fått namnet Getinge. The 'blind giant' banished to the island is a spectral heathen god (conf. Orion, p. 949), the 'white woman' a christian church or an image of Mary; had they fastened the

the king's armoury, and presented with the stand of a hand-basin, which the goldsmith found to be *sheer gold* (ib. nos. 23. 296).[1] Others make *Frederick* sit in a *cave of the rock* near *Kaiserslautern* (ib. no. 295), or at Trifels by Anweiler, or else in the *Unterberg* near Salzburg (ib. no. 28), though some put *Charles the Great* here, or *Charles V.*; the *growing of the beard round the table* is related just the same. When the beard has for the third time reached the last corner of the table, the *end of the world* begins, a *bloody battle* is fought on the Walserfeld, *Antichrist* appears, the angel-trumpets peal, and the *Last of Days* has dawned. The Walserfeld has a *withered tree*, which has been *cut down three times*, but its *root has always sprouted* and grown into a perfect tree again. *When next it begins to leaf*, the terrible fight is near, and will open when the tree bears fruit. Then shall Frederick *hang his shield on the tree*, all men shall flock to it, and make such a slaughter that the *blood will run into* the warriors' *shoes*, and *the wicked men be slain by the righteous* (ib. nos. 24. 28). In this remarkable tradition may be recognised things old and very old.—A religious poem of the 16th cent. (Gräter's Odina p. 197) speaks of *duke Frederick*, who is to win back the H. Sepulchre, and hang his *shield* on a *leafless tree*; and *Antechriste* is brought in too.—A fragment of an older lay of the 14th cent. (Cod. Pal. 844) says of Emp. Frederick: 'An dem gejaid er verschwant (in the hunt he disappeared), das man den edeln keiser her sind gesach (saw) nyemer mer; also ward der

silver belt round it, it would have shot up into the air as the birch did.——Another account makes the blind giant ask the sailors if the *jingling-cow* by the church (meaning the bell or belfry) were *still alive?* They answered yes, and he challenged one of them to hold out his hand, that he might see if the inhabitants had any strength left. They handed him a boat-bar made redhot, which he crushed together, saying there was no great strength there (Faye p. 17). A story in Ödman's Bahuslän 153-4 has similar variations: A ship's crew, driven out of their course to an out-of-the-way coast, see a fire burning at night, and go on shore. By the fire sits only one *old man*, who asks a sailor: 'Whence be ye?' From Hisingen in Säfve pastorate. 'Ken ye Thorsby too?' Ay, that I do. 'Wot ye the whereabout of Ulfveberg?' Ay, it's many a time I've passed it, going from Götheborg to Marstrand by way of Hisingen. '*Stand the great stones and barrows there yet unremoved?*' Ay, but one stone leans and is like to fall. 'Wot ye where Glosshed-altar is, and whether it be well kept up?' I know nothing about that. 'Say to the folk that dwelleth now at Thorsby and Thorsbracka, that they destroy not the stones and mounds on Ulfveberg, and that they keep in good condition Glosshed-altar, so shalt thou have fair weather for thy home-return.' The sailor promised, but asked the old man his name. 'My name is Thore Brack, and there dwelt I of yore, till I was made to flee: in the great mounds of Ulfveberg lies all my kin, at Glosshed-altar did we sacrifice and serve our gods.'

[1] The Kifhäuser legends now stand collected in Bechst. 4, 9—54.

hochgeporn *keiser Friederich* do verlorn. Wo er darnach ye hin kam, oder ob er den end da nam, das kund nyemand gesagen mir, oder *ob yne die wilden tir* (beasts) *vressen* habn oder *zerissen* (eaten or torn), es en kan die warheit nyemand wissen, oder *ob er noch lebendig sy* (be yet alive),[1] der gewiszen sin wir fry und der rechten warheit; iedoch ist uns geseit von pawren (yet we are told by peasants) solh mer, das er als ein waler (pilgrim) sich oft by yne hab lassen sehen (seen by them) und hab yne offenlich verjehen (declared), er süll noch gewaltig werden (he should yet become master) aller römischen erden, er süll noch die pfaffen storen, und er woll noch nicht uf horen, noch mit nichten lassen abe, nur er pring (nor rest till he bring) *das heilige grabe* und darzu das heilig lant wieder in der Christen hant, und wol *sine schildes last hahen an den dorren ast* (his shield's weight hang on the withered bough); das ich das für ein warheit sag, das die pauren haben geseit, das nym ich mich nicht an, wan ich sin nicht gesehen han, ich han es auch zu kein stunden noch nyndert geschribn funden, was das ichs gehort han van den alten pauren an wan.'—A poem of about 1350 (Aretin's Beitr. 9, 1134) says: 'So wirt das *vrlewg also gross* (war so great), nymand kan ez gestillen, so kumpt sich *kayser Fridrich* der her (high) vnd auch der milt, er vert dort her durch Gotes willen, an einen *dürren pawm* (withered tree) so *henkt er seinen schilt*, so wirt die vart hin uber mer . . . er vert dort hin zum *dürren pawm* an alles widerhap, dar an so *henkt er seinen schilt*, er *grunet* unde *pirt* (bears): so *wirt gewun daz heilig grap*, daz nymmer swert darup gezogen wirt.'—Again, in Sibylle's prophecy, composed in German rhyme soon after the middle of the 14th cent.: 'Es kumet noch dar zuo wol, das Got ein keiser geben sol, den hat er behalten in siner gewalt und git (gives) im kraft manigvalt, er wirt genant *Fridrich*, der usserwelte fürste rich, vnd sament daz Christen volgan sich vnd gewinnet *daz helge grap* uber mer, do stat ein *dor boum* vnd ist gros, vnd sol so lange stan blos, bicz der *keiser Fridrich* dar an *sinen schilt gehenken* mag vnd kan, so

[1] At the end of the Lament for king Etzel; 'Des wunders wird ich nimmer vrî, weder er *sich vergienge*, oder *in der luft enpfienge*, oder *lebende würde begraben*, oder *ze himele úf erhaben*, und ob er *úz der hiute trüffe* oder sich *verslüffe* in löcher der steinwende, oder mit welhem ende er von dem lîbe quæme, oder *waz in zuo zim næme*, ob er *füere in daz apgründe*, oder ob *in der tiuvel verslünde*, oder ob er sus *si verswunden*, daz en-hât niemen noh erfunden.'

wirt *der boum wieder gruen* gar, noch kument aber guete jar, vnd wirt in aller der welt wol stan, der Heiden glouben muos gar zergan' (Wackern. Basel MSS. p. 55).[1]

That the *common people* disbelieved the death of Emp. Frederick, and expected him to come back, is plain from the passages which expressly refer to 'old peasants'; it had most likely been the same in the preceding (13th) cent., and was long after. Impostors took advantage of the general delusion; one chronicle (Böhmer 1, 14) relates: 'Ecce quidam truphator surrexit in medium, qui dixit se esse *Fridericum quondam imperatorem*, quod de se multis intersignis et quibusdam prestigiis scire volentibus comprobavit.' King Rudolf had him burnt on a pile in 1285. Yet Detmar has under the year 1287: 'By der tid quam to Lubeke en olt man, de sprak, he were *keiser Vrederic*, de vordrevene. Deme beghunden erst de boven (lads) und dat mene volk to horende sines tusches (fraud), unde deden eme ere (honour). He lovede en (promised them) grote gnade, oft he weder queme an sin rike; he wart up eneme schonen rosse voret de stat umme to beschowende . . . darna cortliken (shortly after) quam de man van steden, dat nenman wiste, wor he hennen vor (fared). Seder (later) quam de mer (news), dat bi deme Rine en troner (trickster) were, de in dersulven wise de lude bedroch, de ward dar brand in ener kopen.' A more exact account in Ottocar cap. 321—6, and the chron. in Pez 1, 1104. The legend may also confound the two Fredericks, I and II (see Suppl.).[2]

[1] In the MS. 'Historia trium regum' by Joh. von Hildesheim (d. 1375) is mentioned a temple of the Tartars. Behind walls, locks and bolts stands a *withered tree*, guarded by men at arms: whatever prince can manage to *hang his shield on the tree*, becomes lord of all the East; the Great Khan did succeed, and is therefore irresistible (Goethe's Kunst u. alt. ii. 2, 174-5. Schwab's Account of the book p. 181-2). The tree stands at Tauris, form. Susa. On the other hand, Montevilla reports that 'in the vale of Mambre, as one journeys from Ebron to Bethlehem, stands the *woful withered tree* that they call *Trip*, but we name it *tree of victory*; 'tis an oaktree, and thought to have stood from the beginning of the world; and before Our Lord suffered, 'twas green and well-leaved, but when God died on the cross, it withered up . . . 'Tis found written in prophecies, Out of Netherland shall come a prince with many christians, he shall win these lands, and *let sing the mass under the dry tree*, then shall it gather green leaves again, and be fruitful, and Jew and Heathen all turn Christian. Therefore do they shew it great honour, and over it keep good ward.' This is from the transl. by Otto von Diemeringen; the Nethl. edition names the tree *Drip*, the Latin one *Dirp*, and has nothing about the predicted singing of mass. Was this a German interpolation, and is the whole a Western legend transported to the East? Or are the German popular traditions due to reports of Eastern travel? In O. Fr. the tree is called *le sec-arbre, l'arbre sech* or *supe*; see passages quoted in Théâtre Fr. au moyen âge, p. 171.

[2] There is a remarkable phrase: '*auf den alten kaiser* hinein dahin leben,' to

As Charles's *white beard* points to Wuotan, so does Frederick's *red* to Donar, and the like mythic meaning has been put on Olaf's *red beard* (p. 548) in Norway.

Frederick Redbeard in the Kifhäuser and Unterberg, Charles Longbeard in the Unterberg and Odenberg, Holda in the Horselberg, all express one mythic idea, but with a different story tacked to it in every case. Charles fights a stupendous battle, and is then gathered up in the Odenberg, whence he will issue one day to new war and victory. Frederick is coming out of the Unterberg to fight such a battle. In the 13-14-15th centuries the people associated with it the recovery of the H. Sepulchre: the heroes of Odenberg and Kifhäuser have no such purpose set before them. The older programme is, that upon their awaking comes the great *world-battle*, and the *Day of Judgment* dawns: of this the mention of *Antichrist* leaves no doubt. Here we see connexion with the myth of the *world's destruction* (p. 810-2). The *suspended shield* may signify the approaching Judge (RA. 851); even the sign of the *tree turning green again* looks to me more heathen than christian. It might indeed be referred to Matth. 24, 32. Mark 13, 28. Luke 21, 29-30 (Hel. 132, 14), where the omens of the Great Day are *likened* to the budding fig-tree as a sign of approaching summer; but to apply the simile to the Judgment-day would clearly be a confusion of thought. I prefer to think of the *newly verdant earth* after Muspilli (Sæm. 9[b]), or of a withered and newly sprouting World-tree, the *ash* (p. 796–9); we might even find in this of the *withered tree*[1] some support to my interpretation of *muspilli, mudspilli* as = arboris perditio (p. 809). And what if Frederick's asking after the *flying ravens* should be connected even with the *eagle flying* over the new world (Sæm. 9[b]), or the one sitting on the ash-tree? It might also suggest the *cranes* which at the time of the great overthrow *come flying* through the bread-stalls (Deut. sag. no. 317).

live in hope of the old k., Simplic. 3, 20. 4, 11; '*auf den alten kaiser* hinein stehlen,' Springinsf. cap. 6; *i.e.* reckoning on a possible change in the nature of things.

[1] In other cases too the withering or greening of a tree is bound up with the fate of a country. In Dietmarsen stood a marvellous tree, that *flourished* before the conquest, and *withered* on the loss of liberty. There goes a prophecy that 'when a *magpie builds on it and hatches five white chickens*, the country will be free again,' Neocorus 1, 237, conf. 562.

In the same way Fischart (Garg. 266-7) couples the enchanted king's return with the *coming of the cranes*.[1]

The myth of the sprouting tree and the battle near it is set before us with important variations in a Low Saxon legend (Müllenhoff nos. 509—512. 605; Pref. L.). An *ash*, it is believed, will one day grow up in the churchyard of Nortorf in the middle of Holstein: no one has seen anything of it yet, but every year a *small shoot* comes up unnoticed above the ground, and every New-year's night a *white horseman on a white horse* comes to *cut the young shoot off*. At the same time appears a *black horseman on a black horse to hinder him*. After a long fight, the black rider is put to flight, and the white one cuts the shoot. But some day he will not be able to overcome the black one, the *ash tree will grow up*, and when it is *tall enough for a horse to be tied under it* (RA. p. 82; conf. the Dan. legend of Holger, Thiele 1, 20), the *king with mighty hosts* will come, and a terribly *long battle* be fought. During that time his horse will stand under the tree, and after that he will be more powerful than ever. In this story one can hardly help recognising the World-tree and the battle at the world's destruction: the white horseman seems to be *Freyr*, or some shining god, struggling with *Surtr* the black, and striving to delay the approaching end of the world by lopping off the sprout. Heathen gods the two champions are for certain, even if they be not these. The king, whose horse stands tied up under the tree, is the same as he whose shield is hung upon the tree, a future judge of the world.

As the past and the future, the lost paradise and the expected, do in the people's imagination melt into one,[2] they come to believe in a *re-awaking* of their loved kings and heroes out of their *mountain-sleep*: of Frederick and Charles, of Siegfried and doubtless Dietrich too. This is the true hall-mark of the epos, to endow its leading characters with a lasting inextinguishable life. But Siegfried is also Wuotan (pp. 26n. 134), Dietrich is Wuotan

[1] Other signs that the end of the world is at hand: when the *swan drops the ring from his bill* (p. 429); when the *giant's rib*, from which a drop falls once a year, has *all trickled away* (Deut. sag. no. 140); when the *tongue of the balance stands in* (ib. 294); when, says a Swed. song, the *stone in the green valley falls*; when the *ship made of men's nails* is built (p. 814).

[2] P. 822-3; even the particles *ever, once, one day, olim*, apply to both states of being.

future. In the *castle-cellar* of Salurn, in the Silesian Zobtenberg, (p. 937), Charles is Wuotan (p. 394); and Wuotan, after Muspilli, rises on the world anew, a god alive and young again. Once before, Oðinn had departed out of the land to Goðheim (Yngl. saga, c. 10); they supposed him dead, and he came back. And with long-bearded Wuotan the older legend of a red-bearded Donar may have started into consciousness again.

Arthur too, the vanished king, whose return is looked for by the Britons,[1] is believed, riding as he does at the head of the nightly host, (p. 942), to be *lodged in a mountain* with all his massenie: Felicia, the daughter of Sibylle, and the goddess Juno live in his fellowship, and his whole army lack neither food nor drink, horses nor raiment.[2] That *Gralent* continues to live, we are assured at the end of the Lais de Graelent. In *a vaulted chamber* near Kronburg in Denmark, mail-clad men sit round a stone table, stooping down, resting their heads on their crossed arms. When *Holger danske*, sitting at the end of the table, raised his head, the table, *into which his beard had grown*, went to pieces, and he said: 'we shall return when there are no more men in Denmark than there is room for on a wine-butt,' (Thiele 1, 23. 168). The Danes applied every myth to Olger, who does not belong to them at all, but to the Netherlands; he is the same *Ogier* (Otger, perh. Otacher) that haunts the Ardennes forest, and is to come back some day.[3] The Slavs too believe in the return of their beloved *Svatopluk* (Sviatopolk), and some parts of Moravia still keep up the custom of going in solemn procession *to seek Svatopluk* (Palacky 1, 135). With this I couple Svegdir's going forth '*at leita Oðin*,' to look for O., Yngl. saga 15. The 'seeking God' on p. 145 was another thing (see Suppl.).

Often the banished one bears no name at all: the shepherd from the Ostenberg found in the *cavern* of the *Willberg* a *little man* sitting at a stone table, which his *beard had grown through* (Deut. sag. no. 314); and a *grizzled man* conducted the shepherd of Wernigerode to the treasures of the *mountain cave* (ib. no. 315), The *beard's growing round* or *into the stone* expresses forcibly the long duration of the past time, and the slow advance of the

[1] 'Et prius *Arturus veniet* vetus ille Britannus,' Henr. Septimell. in Leyser, p. 460. 'cujus in *Arturi* tempore fructus erit,' ib. p. 477.
[2] Wartb. kr. jen. hs. 99. 100 (Docen 1, 132-3).
[3] Barrois, préface p. xii. Pulci 28. 36.

were found *three men* sitting at the table (ib. nos. 15. 143), who are represented as malefactors enchanted. It is easy to trace the step from heroes shut up in mountains to such as, having died naturally, sleep in their tombs of stone, and visibly appear at sundry times. At Steinfeld, in the Bremen Marschland, a man had disturbed a hüne-grave, and the following night *three men* appeared to him, one of them *one-eyed* (an allusion to Wuotan), and conversed in some unintelligible language; at last they hurled threatening looks at him who had rummaged their tomb, they said they had fallen in their country's cause, and if he broke their rest any more, he should have neither luck nor star (Harrys Nieders. sag. 1, 64).

But as Holda is spell-bound in the mountain, so it is preëminently to *white women, white-robed maidens*, (pp. 288. 412-8) that this notion of mountain banishment becomes applicable: divine or semi-divine beings of heathenism, who still at appointed times grow visible to mortal sight; they love best to appear in warm sunlight to poor shepherds and herd-boys. German legend everywhere is full of graceful stories on the subject, which are all substantially alike, and betray great depth of root.

On the *Lahnberg* in Up. Hesse sat a *white maiden* at sunrise; she had wheat spread out on sheets to dry in the sun, and was *spinning*. A baker of Marburg was passing that way, and took a handful of grains with him; at home he found nothing but *grains of gold* in his pocket. And the like is told of a peasant near Friedigerode.

A poor shepherd was tending his flock at the *Boyneburg*, when he saw a *snow-white maiden* sit in the sunshine by the castle-door; on a white cloth before her lay pods of flax ready to crack open. In astonishment he steps up, says 'oh what fine pods!' takes up a handful to examine, then lays them down again. The maiden looks at him kindly, but mournfully, without a word of reply. He drives his flock home, but a few pods that had fallen into his shoe, gall his foot; he sits down to pull off the shoe, when there roll into his hand five or six *grains of gold* (Deut. sag. no. 10; conf. Wetterauische sagen p. 277. Mone's Anz. 8, 427).

In the *Otomannsberg* near Geismar village, a fire is said to burn at night. Every seven years there comes out a *maiden* in

snowy garments, holding a bunch of keys in her hand. Another *white woman* with a bunch of *keys* appears on the castle-rock at Baden at the hour of noon (Mone's Anz. 8, 310).

In the castle-vault by Wolfartsweiler lies a hiddon treasure, on account of which, every seventh year *when may-lilies are in bloom*, a *white maiden* appears; her black hair is plaited in long tails, she wears a *golden girdle* round her *white gown*, a *bundle of keys* at her side or in one hand, and a bunch of *may-lilies* in the other. She likes best to shew herself to innocent children, to one of whom she beckoned one day from beside the grave below, to come over to her: the child ran home in a fright, and told about it; when it came back to the place with its father, the maiden was no longer there. One day *at noon*, two of the goose-herd's girls saw the *white maiden* come down to the brook, *comb* and *plait up* her tails, *wash* her face and hands, and walk up the castle hill again. The same thing happened the following noon, and though they had been told at home to be sure and speak to the maiden, they had not the courage after all. The third day they never saw the maiden, but on a stone in the middle of the brook they found a liver-sausage freshly fried, and liked it better than they ever did another. Another day two men from Grünwettersbach saw the maiden fill a tub with water from the brook, and carry it up the hill; on the tub were two broad hoops of pure gold. The way she takes, every time she goes up and down, was plainly to be distinguished in the grass (Mone's Anz 8, 304).

At Osterrode, every *Easter Sunday* before sunrise, may be seen a *white maiden*, who slowly walks down to the brook, and there *washes;* a large *bunch of keys* hangs at her girdle. A poor linen-weaver having met her at that season, she took him into the castle ruins, and of three *white lilies* she plucked him one which he stuck in his hat. When he got home, he found the lily was pure gold and silver, and the town of Osterrode had not the money to buy it of him. The Easter-maiden's marvellous flower was taken by the Duke in return for a pension to the weaver, and placed in his princely coat of arms (Harrys 2, no. 23).

One Christmas night, when all lay deep in snow, a waggoner walked home to his village by a footpath. He saw a *maiden* in a

summer bonnet stand not far off and turn over with a rake some *pods of flax* that lay spread out on the ground. 'I say, lass, is that the way?' he cried, and took a handful of the pods; she made no answer, but cut him over the hand with the rake. The next morning, when he remembered what he had brought home, the *flax-pods* had all turned into *gold*. He then hurried back to the spot, where he could see his footprints of the night before deep in the snow, but damsel and flax had disappeared (Mone's Anz. 5, 175).

On a hill near Langensteinbach in the forest is the long-ruined church of St. Barbara, where the *white woman* walks by buried treasures. One leap-year in the spring a young girl went into it, and saw her step out of the choir, she cried sh! and beckoned the girl to her: her face and hands were white as snow, her raven hair was thrown back, in the hand she beckoned with she held a *bunch of blue flowers*, on the other were ever so many *gold rings*, she wore a *white gown*, *green shoes*, and a *bunch of keys* at her side. The terrified girl ran out of the church, and fetched in her father and brother who were at work outside, but they could not see the *white woman* till they asked the girl, who pointed and said 'there!' Then the woman turned, her hair hung over her back to the ground, she went toward the choir, and then vanished (Mone's Anz. 5, 321).

Into the convent garden of Georgenthal a maid was going about the *hour of noon* to cut grass; suddenly, high on the wall there stood a *little woman as white as lawn*, who beckoned till the clock struck twelve, then disappeared. The grass-girl sees on her way a fine cloth covered with *flax-pods*, and wondering she pockets two of them. When she gets home, they are two bright ducats (Bechst. Thür. sag. 2, 68).

About the underground well near Atterode many have seen in the moonlight the *white maiden* dry either *washing* or *wheat* (ib. 4, 166).

At the deserted castle of Frankenstein near Klosterallendorf, a *maiden clothed in white* appears every seven years, sitting over the vault and beckoning. Once when a man wished to follow her, but stood irresolute at the entrance, she turned and gave him a handful of *cherries*. He said 'thank you,' and put them in his pouch; suddenly there came a crash, cellar and maiden had dis-

appeared, and the bewildered peasant, on examining the cherries at home, found them changed into gold and silver pieces (ib. 4, 144).

A fisherman in the neighbourhood of the Highwayman's hill near Feeben was throwing out his nets, when he suddenly saw the *white woman* stand on the bank before him with a *bunch of keys*. She said, 'thy wife at home is just delivered of a boy, go fetch me the babe, that I may kiss him and be saved.' The fisherman drove home, and found everything as she had said, but he durst not take his child out at once, the clergyman advised him to have it christened first; after which, when he repaired to the hill, the *white woman* sat weeping and wailing, for it was one of the set conditions that her redemption should be wrought by an infant unbaptized. So ever and anon she still appears on the hill, and waits the deliverer's coming (Ad. Kuhn no. 67).

By Hennikendorf not far from Luckenwalde, two shepherds pastured their sheep. A woman *half white, half black*, shewed herself on the mountain, making signs to them. One of them tardily went up, and she offered him all the gold in the mountain, if he would come in and set her free. When this entreaty failed to move him, she said that if he did not release her, there would not be another born for a hundred years that could; but the shepherd did not get over his fear till the hour of deliverance was past, and the woman sank into the mountain, whence he could for a long time hear heartrending plaints and moans (ib. no. 99).

A peasant who kept watch on the bleaching-floor near the ruins of Chorin monastery, saw the *white woman* (known there as the *utgeberschе*, housekeeper, from her carrying a large *bunch of keys*) step in suddenly, and was not a little frightened. Next morning he told the other men, one of whom asked him if he had noticed her feet. He said no: 'then' said the other, 'let's all go to-night and have a look.' At midnight they sat down in the floor, and watched: before long the *white woman* came slowly striding, they all looked at her feet, and observed that they were in *yellow* (some say, green) *slippers*. Then the other man called out, laughing, 'why, she has yellow slippers on!' She fled in haste, and was never seen again (ib. no. 199).

Beside the brook of the Bütow castle hill, a peasant was

ploughing, and often noticed a *maiden* draw water from it in a *golden bucket* and *wash* herself. At length he summoned up courage to ask her, and was told that she was a king's daughter, and had sunk with the mountain-castle into the ground; she could only be saved by one who, without halting or looking round, would carry her to the Wendish burial-ground at Bütow, and there throw her down with all his might. The ploughman ventured on the enterprise, and had safely got to the churchyard, but before he could fling her off his shoulders, something clutched his hair from behind, and he was so startled that he looked round and let his burden fall. The maiden flew up into the air, complaining 'that she must suffer more severely now, and wait another hundred years to be saved by a steadier hand.' Since then she has not as yet appeared again (Tettau and Temme no. 267).

The Pillberg is a castle that was banned. In the *evil hour from* 11 *to* 12 *at noon* a woman used to shew herself on it, *smoothing her hair in the sunshine*, and begging the shepherds to lay hold of her: no harm should come to whoever did so, only let him hold her tight and not say a word. A man of thirty, who was still employed as a cowboy, mustered up all his courage for once, and grasped the hand of the *castle-dame;* while he held, all sorts of jugglery were played upon him, dogs were just going to bite him, horses to run over him, still he held fast; but anguish forced from his breast the moan 'herr Gott, herr Jesus!' In a moment the dame was loose from his hand, sobbed out that she was lost for ever, and vanished (Reusch's Sagen des Samlands no. 8).

On the hill near Kleinteich a castle is said to have stood, which has long been swallowed up. The people say their forefathers still saw with their own eyes a king's daughter come up every day *between* 11 *and* 12, and *comb* her golden locks *over a golden trough* (ib. no. 12).

The Hünenberg by Eckritten was once a holy mount, whereon the Prussians sacrificed to their gods; there a *dame* shews herself now. A peasant, having heard a good deal about her, rode up the hill to see her. He did see her too, *combing her hair*, but turned tail directly, and was only prevailed on by her prayers to turn back again. She addressed him kindly, and gave

him what she had *combed out of her hair*. He felt so daunted that he thanked her, popped the present into his pocket, and rode off; but when he was out of her sight, he threw it away. He had better have kept it, for at home he found a few *grains of gold* still, which had stuck in the corners of his pocket (ib. no. 13).

I could fill sheets with this kind of stories: with all their similarity, they differ in details, and I had to pick out what was characteristic.[1] Then, as to locality, they occur not only in Alamannian, Franconian, Hessian or Thuringian districts, but I believe all over Germany, notably in Westphalia, L. Saxony, the Marks, and further East; no doubt also in Switzerland, Bavaria and Austria. Schmeller 1, 33 mentions the Loferer jungfrau of Salzburg country, and remarks that the story has spread far into Bavaria. And the people of Friesland, Drenthe and the Netherlands have just as much to tell of their *witten wijven* or *juffers* in hills and caverns (J. W. Wolf no. 212), though here they get mixed up with elvish personages. Thiele's Danske folkesagn 4, 33 cites a white woman, 'den *hvide qvinde*' of Flensburg, who watching a treasure waits for deliverance; and 4, 96 a *gold-spinning dame* in black dress near Veilefjord in North Jutland. The Swed. *hvita qvinna* above, p. 955n., seems to be of another kind.

Sometimes the narrative becomes fuller and like a fairytale: e.g. that in Bechstein 4, 221 no. 39 of the couple who had set down their child of five years in the forest while they gathered wood, but could not find it again, and looked a long time, till the child came running up with flowers and berries which the *white maid* had given it out of her *garden*. The parents then set off to see this garden: it was all out in bloom, though the time of the year was cold; the *white maid* beckoned to them, but they were afraid. The child wished every day to go to her, wept and moped, sickened and died: it was forfeited to the sky-folk, the elves (conf. Kinderlegenden no. 3). Again, a man who puts up at a lonely huntingbox, hears at midnight a *scuffing of shoes*, the *white woman* comes to his bedside, bewails her woe, and craves

[1] See further D. Sag. nos. 11. 12. 316. Mone's Anz. 8, 149. 258-9. 4, 162. 7, 370. 476. 8, 313. Bechst. 1, 121-5. 2, 51. 93. 164. 3, 180-1-7. 4, 157-8. 187. 209. 221-4-9. Fränk. sag. 157. 285. Tettau and Temme 166. 189. Harrys 1, 19. 30. 2, 19. 23. Kuhn nos. 64. 119. 206.

deliverance, as Condwîrâmûrs did of Parzivâl (Mone's Anz. 6, 396—8; and Suppl.).

For the origin of these White Women we need not go to the Celtic *matrons* and *fays* (pp. 410-7) who are closely related to them; our own antiquity brings us to beings nearer still. Elfins and swan-wives appear in white shining garments; among goddesses may be named three in particular, of whom the 'white woman' and finally the 'nun' might be the outcome: *Holda*, who in the very same way combs and bathes in the midday sun, *Berhta*, white by her very name, who spins and weaves, *Ostara* (pp. 290. 780), to whom the people offered up may-lilies (p. 58). Holda and Berhta bestow trifling gifts, which turn into gold; the white women are fond of gold rings and wands (Mone 7, 476), heaps of gold lie on their laps (8, 185), they give away boxfuls of gold sand (5, 414). Berhta as the white ancestress appears when a death is at hand (p. 280); so does the white maid (Bechst. 4, 158). Berhta's misshapen foot (p. 280) lies at the root of the white maiden's goat-foot, her long nails (Mone 7, 476), her green or yellow slippers (p. 965); else why should these have seemed so strange? The woman half-white, half-black, resembles *Hel* (p. 312), unless one would trace them to the garb of a nun (Mone 3, 259). Even the white man's occasionally displacing the white dame (6, 69) is like Berhtolt by the side of Berhta. Allegoric females like those in chap. XXIX evidently have in their manner of appearing much in common with white women.

Now the pervading thought in all this of *being banned* and longing for *release* I take to be just this, that the pagan deities are represented as still beautiful, rich, powerful and benevolent, but as outcast and unblest, and only on the hardest terms can they be released from the doom pronounced upon them. The folk-tale still betrays a fellow feeling for the white woman's grief at the attempted deliverance being always interrupted and put off to some indefinitely distant date.

The traditional mode of expressing this is peculiar and assuredly ancient: He that shall some day speed in achieving the deed and upheaving the hoard (his predestined reward), must be rocked as a babe *in the cradle* made of the *wood of the tree* that now, but a feeble *twig*, *shoots* out of the wall of a tower: should the sapling wither or be cut away, the hope of release is put off till it sprout

anew and be grown a tree (D. sag. nos. 107, 223). Other conditions aggravate the difficulty: The cherry-stone, out of which the seedling is to sprout, must be carried into the chink of the wall by a little bird (Bechst. Franken 191); among the stones a *double* firtree must spring out of *one root*, and when it is 100 years old, two unmarried persons must hew it down on St. Wunibald's day, the stouter stem shall slide down the hill in a sledge on St. Dagobert's day, and out of its planks the deliverer's cradle be made (Mone's Anz. 3, 91); the walnut-tree is now but a finger high, whose planks are to form the cradle in which the future deliverer must lie (7, 365). Sometimes it is merely said, the tree is yet unplanted, the timber unhewn (6. 397. 7, 476. 8, 63). In Ad. Kuhn no. 94 the formula runs thus: A lime-tree shall be planted, that will throw out *two plantschen* (boughs) above, and out of their wood is a poie (buoy) to be made: the first child that therein lies is doomed to be brought from life to death by the sword, and then will salvation ensue. In all these tales the arrival of the future event is linked with the *germinating of a tree*, just as the World-fight was made to depend on the sprouting of the ash (p. 960), or on the dry tree breaking into leaf (pp. 955-7).

Another difficulty put in the way of deliverance is, that the maiden in some disgusting shape, as a *snake, dragon, toad* or *frog*, has to be *kissed three times* (D. sag. no. 13. Mone's Anz. 3, 89. 7, 476). Already in the poem of Lanzelot we have this kissing of the dragon's mouth, who after that turns into a fair lady (7881. 7907-90).

Now and then the apparition of the white dame basking in the sun, beaming and bathing, melts into the notion of a *water-holde* and *nixe* (p. 491), a Scand. *hafs-fru* (Afzelius 2, 150), spirits that likewise need redemption (p. 493). Twelve *white sea-maids* come and join in the dancing of men (Mone's Anz. 5, 93); add the Romance legend of Melusina. But such mer-women generally assume, wholly or in part, the shape of a fish or snake; and some white women have a *fish's tail*, a *snake's tail* imputed to them: a king's daughter was immured in the golden mount as a *snake*, and only once in three nights recovered her human form (Kinderm. no. 92); in the Oselberg by Dinkelsbühl dwells a *snake* with woman's head and a bunch of keys about the neck (D. sag. no. 221; and Suppl.).

With the notion of mountain-banishment is commonly associated that of an enchanted, yet recoverable *treasure*. Where the ancient hero or god sits in his mountain cavern, just as in the hero's grave or barrow, lies hidden a huge hoard; and the white woman, the snake woman, or simply snake and dragon, are they that guard it.

The Goth. *huzd*, OHG. *hort*, AS. *heord*, ON. *hodd*, seems to be letter for letter the Lat. *cust* in custos, custodia, and this from curo (for cuso), so that our hûs (what harbours, shelters) and the Lat. curia (house and court) will come under the same root; thus *huzd* already contained the notion of keeping watch and ward. From thesaurus, It. Sp. tesoro, Fr. trésor, was taken the OHG. *treso, dreso*. The Goth. *skatts*, OHG. *scaz* meant simply numus, and has only gradually acquired the sense of our *schatz*, thesaurus, gaza; as late as the 13th cent. schatz had simply the meaning of money, wealth (Flore 7749. Troj. 2689. 3171. MS. 2, 146ª), not of depositing and guarding.

The generally diffused belief that treasures sleep in the bosom of the earth causes O. v. 4, 23, in speaking of the earthquake at the Saviour's resurrection, to say: 'sih scutita io gilîcho thiu erda kraftlîcho, ioh sî sliumo thar irgab *thaz dreso thar in iru lag*,' gave up the treasure that in her lay.

The treasure being buried deep down, it follows, that whoever would gain possession of it, must *dig it up* (heben, heave). It is supposed that the treasure *moves* of itself, i.e. slowly but steadily strives to come to the surface, it is commonly said, at the rate of a cock's stride every year (D. sag. no. 212). We saw how the *thunderbolt*, Donar's priceless hammer, after plunging far into the ground, pushed its way up in seven years (p. 179). At an appointed time the treasure is up, and waiting to be released; if then the required condition fails, it is snatched away into the depths once more. Its nearing the surface is expressed by the phrase 'the treasure *blossoms*' (as fortune blossoms, p. 866), 'it *gets ripe*'; then 'it *fades*' (Simpl. 2, 191), has to sink again. This may refer to the *blowing of a flower* above or beside it. In MHG. they spoke of the treasure *coming forth*: 'wenne *kumt hervür* der hort, der mich sô rîche möhte machen?' MS. 1, 163. It ripens in most cases every seven years, in some only every hundred, and that especially under a full moon, or during the

Twelves. Another phrase is, 'the treasure *suns itself*': on the Fridays in March it is said to rise out of the ground to sun itself (Mone's Anz. 8, 313), and that spreading-out of the wheat and the flax-pods (p. 962-4) was this kind of sunning; the treasure heaves itself up in *cauldrons*, and then indicates its presence by a *clear blaze* shining on it, as fire flickers over a ghost's barrow (p. 915-6); a *blue flame* is seen upon it (Reusch no. 46); it has the appearance of *glowing embers*, of a *brewing-copper* full of *red gold* (nos. 7. 25-6); when a fire burns over it, they say 'the treasure *airs itself*.' Nevertheless many treasures do not move toward the surface at all, but have to be sought in the cavern itself.

Two requisites for raising the treasure are *silence* and *innocence*. Holy divine tasks endure no babble: thus, heilawâc must be drawn in silence (pp. 229. 586), in silence herbs of magic power be picked; cry out over a treasure, 'twill sink that moment out of sight (Superst. 214). The harmless hand of childhood is fit to lay hold of it, as it is to draw lots; poor village boys, shepherd lads, are they that find it (D. sag. 7. 157-8); he that is stained with vice can never come near it (ib. 13).

Whoever spies the treasure should hasten to throw something on it, both as taking possession, and to ward off danger. It is recommended to throw quickly over the treasure either *bread*, or a piece of *clothing worn* next the skin, or a three-halfpenny piece (Superst. I, 218. 224. 612). See the passages on fire, quoted p. 602-3.

But the hoard is *indicated* and *guarded*. Indicated by the re-appearance of those vanished heroes and white dames; indicated and watched by dogs, snakes, dragons. Also the flickering flame (waver-lowe, p. 602) or the flower in bloom bewrays it, and swarming beetles (p. 694) are a sign of it (see Suppl.).

To get into the mountain in which it is concealed, one usually needs a plant or root to clear the way, to burst the door.

The folktales simply call it a beautiful *wonderflower*, which the favoured person finds and sticks in his hat: all at once entrance and exit stand open for him to the treasure of the mountain. If inside the cavern he has filled his pockets, and bewildered at the sight of the valuables, has laid aside his hat, a warning

voice[1] rings in his ear as he departs: '*forget not the best!*' but it is then too late, *the iron door shuts with a bang, hard upon his heel,* in a twinkling all has disappeared, and the road is never to be found again. The same formula comes up regularly every time in the legends of the Odenberg, of the Weser mountains and the Harz, and in many more (D. sag. nos. 9. 303. 314. Bechst. 1, 146. 3, 16. 4, 210-1. Dieffenbach's Wetterau pp. 284-5. 190); it must be very old.[2] The flower is commonly said to be *blue,* the colour most proper to gods and spirits, yet also I find '*purple* flower' and '*white* flower' mentioned. Sometimes it is called *schlüsselblume* (key-flower), because it locks the vault, and as symbol of the key-wearing white woman, whom the *bunch of keys* befits as old mistress and housekeeper, and who has likewise power to unlock the treasure; also *luck-flower* (Bechst. 3, 212), but most frequently *wunderblume.* When *three wonderflowers* are named, it seems to mean three on *one* stalk (ib. 1, 146. 4, 209). The sudden violent springing-to of the door is remarkably like the Edda's 'hrynja honom þâ *â hæl* þeygi hlunnblick hallar,' Sæm. 226ᵃ; 'þegar laukst hurðin *â hæla* hönum,' Sn. 2; 'eigi fellr honum þâ hurð *â hæla,*' Fornald. sög. 1, 204; and twice of the slamming of hell's door (p. 315). A shepherd boy has the *heel of his shoe* carried away (D. sag. 157), as another who hastens away has his *heel cut off* (Kinderm. 3, 75). When a shepherd mistook the order, the vault broke down, the door closed behind him with a crash, but caught him by the *heel of one foot* and smashed it, he was long a sufferer, and spent the money he had brought away on the cure of his foot (Bechst. 4, 211); or, he rushes out, the door slams behind him, and both his *heels are cut away* (Harrys 2, 14). I set some value on the recurrence of these formulas, and should like to trace them in MHG. poems. A 13th cent. phrase, '*die berge sint nû nâch mir zuo*' (mountains closed behind me now), MS. 2, 145ᵇ, seems to mean that former chances are now forfeited.

[1] As if that of the flower itself. Several flowers, esp. the germander (speedwell) and myosotis, are popul. called *forget-me-not,* clearly with reference to their miraculous power. The sentimental explanation arose later.

[2] Other formulas: 'je mehr du zerstreust, je mehr du bereust!' or, 'je mehr du verzettest, je minder du hettest!' esp. when the gold given or gathered has the appearance of foliage or charcoal. In the cavern, where gold lies on the table, the three old men sitting by it cry to the astonished visitor: 'greif einen grif, streich einen strich, und packe dich!'

Instead of wonderflower or keyflower, other stories name the *springwurzel* (explosive root), a herb that can be procured in the following manner: The nest of a *green* or *black woodpecker*, while she has chicks, is closed tight with a wooden bung; the bird, on becoming aware of this, flies away, knowing where to find a wonderful root which men would seek in vain. She comes carrying it in her bill, and holds it before the bung, which immediately flies out, as if driven by a powerful blow. Now if you are in hiding, and raise a great clamour on the woodpecker's arrival, she is frightened, and lets the root fall. Some spread a white or red cloth under the nest, and then she will drop the root on that, after using it. Mone's Anz. 8, 614 gives a pretty old passage out of Conrad von Megenberg: 'Ain vogel haist ze latin *merops*, und haist ze tütsch *bömheckel* (tree-hacker), und nist in den holen bömen, und wenn man im sinü kint verslecht (nails up) mit ainem zwickel, so bringt er ain krut (herb) und hält das für den zwickel, so vert (starts) der zwickel her dan. Das krut haist 'herba meropis,' daz spricht *bömheckelkrut*, und haist in der zöberbuch 'chora,' und wer nit guet daz man es gemainklich erkant, wan es gänt sloss gegen im uff (not good to be generally known, for locks fly open before it), damit smidet nieman, wan der gevangen lyt uf .den lip.' The pecker was esteemed a sacred and divine bird (p. 673); even Pliny 10, 18 reports the myth: 'Adactos cavernis eorum a pastore cuneos, admota quadam ab his herba, elabi creditur vulgo. Trebius auctor est, clavum cuneumve adactum quanta libeat vi arbori, in qua nidum habeat, statim exsilire cum crepitu arboris, cum insederit clavo aut cuneo.'[1] That the woodpecker specially is acquainted with the magic virtues of herbs, appears from other tales: he guards them, and flies at the eyes of the man that would pull them up. Thus Pliny says 25, 4, 10 of the pæony: 'praecipiunt eruere noctu, quoniam si *picus martius* videat, tuendo

[1] Conf. Aelian De nat. an. 3, 25, on the hoopoe. Rabbinic legend mentions the rock-splitting *shamir*, which Solomon procured in the following way [to get stone] for his buildings. He had search made for the nest of a *woodcock* (grouse?) with chicks in it, and had it covered over with white crystal. The *woodcock* came, and finding it could not get at its young fetched the *shamir*, and was placing it on the glass, when Solomon's messenger set up a loud cry that startled the bird and made it drop the shamir, and the man took it with him (Majer's Myth. wtb. 1, 121). The Gesta Roman. tells nearly the same story of the *ostrich* and his fetching the blaster worm *thumare* (Gräss's transl. 2, 227).

in oculos impetum faciat;' and 27, 10, 60: 'tradunt noctu effodiendas, quoniam *pico martio* impetum in oculos faciente, interdiu periculosum sit.' That root of explosive power is supposed to be the euphorbia lathyris, which the Italians call sferracavallo, because its power over metals is so great, that a horse stepping on it has to leave the shoe behind (see Suppl.).

But, beside these plants that make doors fly open, another very ancient means of discovering and obtaining the gold or treasure buried in the earth is the *wishing-rod.* Why should an OHG. gloss at once render 'caduceus' by *wunscili-gerta* (Gramm. 2, 540. Graff 4, 257), but that this term was thought to come nearest the sense of Mercury's magic wand? The Latin name carried nothing on the face of it about wish or wishing (Notker in Cap. 16. 37 translates it *fluge-gerta,* virga volatilis). The notion then of a magic rod with a German name of its own was of very old standing, and that name moreover is one connected with the meaning I have more than once mentioned of the word 'wunsch,' which, like sælde, signified both the sum total of happiness and a personal being Wunsch or Sælde. The diminutive form of it in *wunscili-*gerta leads me to see in this compound no reference to a person, but to a thing: it is the gerta (yard, rod) by possessing which a man becomes partaker of all earthly bliss. The bestowal of that bliss proceeds from Wuotan the supreme (p. 419).

The 13th century poets also use the term. Conrad in his Schmiede 664 (614), comparing the Virgin to the rod of Moses: 'dû bist diu *wünschel-gerte,* dar mit (wherewith) ûz einem steine wazzer wart geslagen;' and 1306 (1261): 'dû sælden (Sælden?) *wünschelgerte;*' in his Troj. 19888, of Helena: 'schœne als ein *wünschelgerte* kam sie geslichen (gliding) ûfreht,' as Danish folk-songs use lilje-vaand (lily-stalk) in a like sense; Troj. 2215: 'alles heiles ein *wünschel-rîs* (-spray).' Gotfried in a minnesong 2, 9: 'der gnâde ein *wünschel-ruote* (-rod).' Nithart in Rosenkr. 3: 'gespalten nâch der *wünschelruote* stam,' cleft like the w.'s stem. Albr. Titur. has more than once *wünschelgerte, wünschel-ruote* 4146, and 'wünschel-sâme des varmen' 4221, because varm, our farn (the fern, filix), is a healing plant. But the weightiest passage is that in Nib. 1064 (even if the stanza be an interpolation), just where the hoard of the Nibelungs is described:

Der *wunsch* lac (lay) dar under, von golde ein *rüetelîn*,
der (whoso) daz het erkunnet, der möhte meister sîn
wol in al der werlte über islîchen (every) man.

Among the gold and gems of the hoard lay a rod, whose miraculous virtue (wunsch) included every good, every joy; and he that knows *its* worth (I put only a comma after rüetelîn, and make 'daz' refer to it, not to the whole sentence) has power given him over all men; the wishing-rod not only made treasures come, it intensified and continually increased their value.

Here the wishing-rod is called *golden*. It was commonly picked off a *hazel-bush*; according to Vintler it is '*that year's shoot* (sumer-late) of a wild hazel-tree.' To have it, one must cut by right-hand moonlight (crescent moon) a bough with a *zwisele, zwispel* (furca), and *twist it three times* round itself.[1] Others demand a white *shoot of hazel* or *holy-thorn*, one that has a twiele or fork, has shot up in one year, and has not a speck of old wood in it; it must stand so that the sun from east and west shines through the fork, else it is no good. He that would gather it walks in silence to the shoot, between 3 and 4 in the morning of a Sunday in full moon, turns his face to the east, bows three times to the shoot, and says: 'God bless thee, noble spray and summer's bough!' Then follow seven spells, given in the Meckl. jb. 5, 110—7. That simile of Conrad's makes us imagine a single *slender* rod. Several sorts were distinguished, at least in later times: fire-rod, burn-rod, burst-rod, strike-rod, quake-rod. The hazel was not used for all, some were made of brass wire, and perhaps of gold. In Lower Germany they say *wicke-rode*, from wicken, to play the witch, tell fortunes. It is all-important to hold the rod correctly in the hand (grasping the two tips, so that the stem out of which they spring shall look upwards); it will answer then, the stem will turn toward the objects it has to point out, and if there are none at hand, it will keep still. Some say that one point of the fork is held up firmly in each hand, and if nevertheless one of them bends with irresistible force to the ground, a bed of ore is not far off. There were also spells to be spoken during the process: '*Rod, rod*, I ask of

[1] Ettner's Unwürd. doctor pp. 3—8. Conf. the forked fir and lime (p. 969), and the three flowers on one stalk (p. 972); a twig with nine tips (Superst. I, 950), a lime bough with nine branches (Rhesa dainos 30).

thee, where may the best treasure lie?' By means of the wishing-rod men thought they could discover hidden treasures, veins of ore, springs of water (hence in Switzerland they call it spring-taster, Tobler 80[a]), nay, even murderers and thieves.[1]

In Anshelm's Bern. chron. 2, 8, I find the name *glücks-stäblin*, as we had a flower of luck above. The French name is *baguette divinatoire:* acc. to the Mém. de l'acad. Celtique 4, 267 'de coudrier, fourchue d'un côté.'

Does the ON. *gambanteinn*, Sæm. 77[b], 85[b] contain a similar notion? Teinn is ramus, virga (Goth. táins, OHG. zein, AS. tân, OS. tên),[2] gamban resists all interpretation hitherto. In the last-named passage gambanteinn is gathered in the forest:

> Til holtz ec gêcc (I went) oc til hrâs viðar
> *gambantein* at geta. *gambantein* ec gat.

Another passage Sæm. 60[b] deals with a 'gamban-sumbl umgeta,' which might very well mean a wishing-banquet of the gods. I would adopt the variant 'gaman-sumbl,' and explain gaman as bliss, just as wunsc seems to belong to wunna. Yet in AS. we find *gomban* gyldan, Beow. 21, a distinct word from gomen (gaudium). Again '*tams vendi* ec þic drêp,' with wand of taming I thee smote, Sæm. 84[b], is worth weighing: tams vöndr is undoubtedly a rod of magic influence.

A story in full detail of a *wishing-staff* that St. Columban gave away to a poor man, and which he smashed at the bidding of his wife, may be found in Adamanni Scoti vita S. Columbae cap. 24 (Canisii Lect. antiq., tom. 5).

And now our surest guide to the original meaning of the wishing-rod is the *κηρύκειον* of Hermes (the cādūcēus of Mercury): a staff with two snakes twining round it. But these snakes appear to have been first formed by the boughs of the olive, so that the older *ῥάβδος* (Od. 24, 2) probably had the forked figure of our wishing-rod ['three times twisted,' p. 975]. The Hymn to Merc. 527 calls it *ὄλβου καὶ πλούτου ῥάβδον, χρυσείην, τριπέτηλον·* golden (as in the Nib. Lay), three-leaved, bringing *luck* and

[1] Literary history of the wishing-rod in the New Lit. Anz. 1807, pp. 345—477; conf. Braunschw. Anz. 1752, p. 1625; Goth. taschenb. 1809, pp. 1—19. The assertion that it has only come into use in Germany since the 11th cent. seems false.

[2] It might also mean sagitta, which recalls Martin von Amberg's 'nach schatze mit *pfilen* suochen.'

wealth. Now, seeing that Mercury wears the winged petasus too, as Wuotan was recognisable by his pilei umbraculum, that in this again there dwells the idea of a *wishing-hat* (p. 869), and that the bliss-bestowing *wishing-rod* must be referred to a personal *Wish*, consequently to Wuotan; I think, in the concurrence of all these resemblances there lies an incontrovertible proof of the primitive unborrowed identity of *Wuotan* with *Mercury*. Rudolf in his Barl. 274, 25 may very well have meant 'des *Wunsches bluome*,' as the numerous examples from his Gerhart (p. 140) shew how familiar this personification was to him. So in Tit. 5161-9: 'gezwîet vil der *wünschelrîse*' and '*wünschel-berndez* rîs' (see Suppl.).

The mythical aspect of *mountain-prisoned* treasures, as of *mountain-prisoned* heroes and gods, has led us to Wuotan the supreme maker and giver of all things, 'to whom are known all hidden treasures,' Yngl. saga, cap. 7.

Some other things, beside flowers, herbs and rods, are helpful to the lifting of treasure. Thus a *black he-goat that has not a light hair on him* is to be sought out and tied to the spot where money lies hidden, like a sacrifice to the spirit who guards it (Mone's Anz. 6, 305). Some prescribe a *black fowl* without even the smallest white feather, else the devil breaks the lifter's neck for him (Bechst. 4, 207). Enchanted money has had the curse pronounced on it, that he alone shall find it who *ploughs it out with a pair of black cocks;* one man carved himself a tiny plough for the purpose, and accomplished the lifting, Reusch's Samland p. 29 (see Suppl.).

But on the hoard lie *dogs, snakes, dragons* to guard it, DS. no. 13. 159. Schm. 2, 209.

In Annales Corbej. ad an. 1048 (Paullini p. 386): 'Aiunt in Brunsberg magnum thesaurum absconditum esse, quem *niger canis* custodit cum oculis igneis;' and in the Carmen de Brunsbergo (Paullini p. 599):

Horrendus *canis* est tenebrosum vinctus ad antrum,
thesauri custos, qui latet imus ibi;
igneus est visus, color atque nigerrimus illi,
os patulum, et cunctis halitus usque gravis.

Under the pear-tree men saw burning coals, and at night a

black poodle lying (Mone's Anz. 7, 227). On one chest in the vault lay a *toad*, on the other a *white dog*: when the peasant's wife struck about with a rod she had got from the white woman, the dog turned black as coal, at which the woman was so frightened she broke silence, and the deliverance came to nothing (ib. 5, 320).

No beast has more to do with gold and treasures than the *snake*, which coils itself down on the gold-heap (p. 689), shakes off sparkles (p. 690-1), wears gold crowns (p. 686). We saw the white woman herself appear half or wholly in serpent shape. By the water outside the gold cavern a huge hissing snake keeps watch: hit him boldly on the head, he will arch himself into a bridge over the water for you, and you may step over it with a stout heart, and bring away as much golden earth as you will (Bechst. 4, 174). *Fani-gold* seems to be gold that has lain in fens with the snakes and dragons (p. 531).

Our earliest antiquity has famous legends of *snakes* and *dragons* on the gold (p. 689-90). It is worth noting, that men were fond of giving the shape of the snake to costly golden ware in the way of ornaments and weapons. A heap of gold glittered in the sun, and a *black worm* lay coiled around it, yet so that he did not reach quite round, and a span's breadth was left open: at this spot the labouring man who had spied the hoard stept in and gathered gold. When he had crammed his pockets full and even the smock he had pulled off, it came into his head to call up a companion and bid her load herself with the rest of the treasure; but his voice was drowned in the terrible roar that suddenly arose: 'out with the coin, out with the coin!' was the cry, and the terrified man flung all the money away, and began to flee; in a moment worm and treasure sank into the mountain, and the earth closed up again, the uproar was over and the sun shone sweetly; only a few coins remained, which when thrown away had fallen outside the serpent ring (Reusch's Samland no. 3).

The great hoard on which *Fâfnir* lay was made up of gold that the gods had been obliged to hand over for the covering and cramming of Otter, but which Loki had previously taken from the dwarf Andvari. Sigurðr, having got it into his power after slaying the dragon, conveyed it all safely away *on Grani's back*, hence gold was named *byrðr Grana* (Granonis sarcina, OHG.

would be Kranin purdi), Sn. 139. It is remarkable that in a Swed. folksong (Arvidsson 2, 193) the maiden awaiting her betrothed says:

Vore det den ungersven (were he the swain) som jag skulle ha,
så förde han det guldet på gångarens bak!

According to our lay of the Hürnen (horny) Sîfrit,[1] though the hero still wins the hoard by slaying the dragon of Drachenstein, and *loads it on his steed* (166, 4), the origin of the gold is related differently. It is the *Nibelinges hort*, and Nibling king of dwarfs leaves it to his three sons (13, 4. 14, 3. 134, 3. 168, 2), two of whom, when their mountain began to move (in an earthquake?) and threatened to fall in, carried it away without telling their brother Eugel,[2] and hid it in a cave under the 'dragon-stone,' where Siegfried afterwards found it (133, 4. 134, 3. 135, 1). A *dragon* that always after five years and a day takes human shape for one day[3] at Easter, had charge of the treasure and of a beautiful princess, a white woman, whom Siegfried set free together with the treasure.

Some things are left obscure in this account, which are cleared up in the epic of the Nibelungs itself. Siegfried acquires the *hort Niblunges* not when he kills the lintrache (lithe-dragon), but when Schilbunc and Niblunc asked him to *divide the treasure*, a thing they could not manage themselves; and neither could he (94, 5). The hoard is carried 'uz eime holn berge;' apparently it belonged to dwarfs, so that Schilbunc and Niblunc were of the elf kindred. Thus in both lays the hoard originates with dwarfs, and in the Edda with dwarf Andvari; as elvish beings they are by nature collectors and keepers of subterranean treasure, haunting the *mountains* as they do (pp. 448. 452), and they *delude* (pp. 464. 915) like spectres. Then the wishing-hat is brought to mind by the cover-capes and mist-mantles of dwarfs (p. 915); the dwarf race, like the dragons,[4] cherishes and guards treasures,

[1] The Seifriedsburg in the Rhön mts (Weisth. 3, 535) is another place about which the hero-legend is told among the common people (Mone's Anz. 4, 410, and thence Bechst. Franken 144).

[2] Eugel's prophecy and his conversation with Siegfried (159—164) leave no doubt of his identity with Gripir in the Edda, but in point of name with Gripi's father Eylimi. This Eylimi (insulae, prati ramus, almost a Laufey reversed p. 246) contains ey = OHG. ouwa, augia, which must be in Eugel too.

[3] Ein tac in der helle hât leng ein ganzez jâr 28, 2.

[4] Mountain-sprites guarding treasure are found in the Schenkofen cavern, in the Reichenspitz, in the Ziller valley. Muchar's Gastein p. 145.

and as Dame Holda travels with the Furious Host and sits locked up in the mountain, she too is connected with the elves (p. 452). Entrance into the caves of dwarfs is found as into enchanted mountains, and men are carried off to spend some time in the society of elvish sprites (p. 494), as they do in Dame Venus' mount (p. 935).

That Nibelung and Schilbung wished to have their father's property divided, is asserted also in Bit. 80[a]; that they *could not divide the treasure*, is a highly mythic feature, which I shall illustrate further on, when I come to treat of Wishing-gear.

As a union with goddesses, wise-women, white-women, results in danger to heroes, so does their winning of the hoard turn to their misfortune. He that has lifted the treasure must die soon (Mone's Anz. 7, 51-3). Because Andvari laid a curse upon the ring that Loki extorted from him, the same ring brought destruction upon Hreiðmar and his sons, who insisted on having it, and upon Sigurð and Brynhild, whose betrothal was accomplished by it (Sn. 140).

An ON. name for gold is 'orms beðr' or 'Fâfnis bœli,' worm's bed, *dragon's* couch, who lies brooding on it, so to speak. Bûi turns into a worm, and lies on his gold-chests, Fornm. sög. 11, 158. *draco* thesauri custos, Saxo Gram. 101. 'incubas gazae ut magnus *draco*, custos Scythici luci,' Martial 12, 53; miser and dragon have little joy of their wealth.

Dragons guarding treasure were also known to the Orientals and Greeks. The hundred-headed sleepless one guarded the golden apples of the Hesperian grove (Scythici luci), Photius, Bekk. 150, 6. 16. The ancients were equally familiar with the notion of *griffins* watching over gold: '*grîfen* golt,' Parz. 71, 17 seq.

Sometimes, on the spot where treasures sparkle, a *calf* is said to lie (Reusch no. 47), not in my opinion as keeper, but as part, of the treasure. For treasure-diggers profess to look for the golden calf, and for the golden hen and twelve chickens,[1] by which plainly something mythical is meant (see Suppl.).

A statement in the Renner 5100 deserves attention, that all buried, i.e. unlifted unredeemed treasures will one day be *Anti-*

[1] Pluquet's Contes populaires de Bayeux. Rouen 1834 p. 21.

christ's, whose coming we have already seen mixing itself up in many ways with the fable of the Furious Host and mountain-prisoned heroes.

The legends largely run over into each other: what is told of the doings of elves and dwarfs in mountain-clefts is also related of noisy sprites haunting deserted houses (p. 514). In one *enchanted castle* a maiden with her treasures waits deliverance (Kinderm. no. 4), another is possessed with devils (ib. no. 81). And here again comes up the feature, that the spirit unblest carries his head under his arm (ib. 3, 15) like the leader of the Furious Host, and that he gets *his beard shaved* by the stranger who is to take off the ban (ib. 3, 9. Mone's Anz. 7, 365. Baader's Bad. sagen no. 275); conf. the well-known fairytale in Musæus, and Simpliciss. 1713. 1, 617, who also knows the legend of the waste castle and the beard-shaving (see Suppl.). The old fable of the water-bear lodges schrats (night-hags) in the forsaken house, and Beowulf rids the royal hall of Grendel's nightly visits. A house like this, in which all is not right, seems to be called in MHG. *wunder-burc*: 'ich sunge ouch wie der (trache?) lît, der manigen in der *wunderburc* verslunden hât dur sînen gît,' MS. 2, 177ª.

Similar to removal into mountains or banishment into the ground, and proceeding from like causes, there is also a *sinking into the waters*. What the elves get hold of in one case, nixes and sea-sprites do in the other. Holla dwells not only in the hollow mountain, but in the fountain and the lake.

Accordingly, to spirits of heroes and to treasures we shall see a residence assigned in water as well as in a mountain. King Charles sits in the *fountain* at Nürnberg, with his beard grown into the table (Deut. sag. no. 22).[1] The Nibelungs' hoard lies *sunk in the Rhine*: 'Rîn skal râða rôgmâlmi, î veltanda vatni lŷsaz valbaugar,' Sæm. 248ª. In the Siegfried's Lay 167, 4 the hero himself spills it into the stream, that it may not work the ruin of his Recken, as Eugel has foretold; the Epic however makes Hagen destroy it, and not till after Siegfried's murder 1077, 3:

er sancte in dâ ze Lôche allen in den Rîn;

[1] Conf. Ettner's Unwürd. doctor 1720-1.

this he did secretly, without the knowledge of Chriemhilde, who to the last supposes it to be in his hands, till he answers 2308, 3:

den schatz weiz nu nieman wan (but) Got unde mîn.

No doubt there were other legends which placed it in mountains: the account given by a woman living in Nerike was, that it lay inside the *Kilsberg* there, and the key to the cavern was kept under a rosebush (Iduna 10, 269). The Ms. 2, 169[b] has: der *Imelunge hort* lît in dem *Burlenberge* in bî (by them, i.e. the Rhine-folk); but the MsH. 2, 241[a] reads 'der *Nibelunge* hort' and 'in dem *Lurlenberge*.' Imelunge may be corrupt for Nibelunge, as Imelôt for Nibelôt (p. 385n.), and Lurlenberg shall have its due, if such be the reading, though I had taken Burlenberc for Burglenberg, Bürglenberg, OHG. Burgilûnberc on the Rhine near Breisach (Dumbeck p. 339), where the Harlungs, perhaps Amelungs, dwelt with their treasure (Heldens. p. 186—8). One of the Venus-hills in the Breisgau and Eckart may also have to do with it. But the *Harlunge golt* (Dietr. 7835) enters into Gothic Amelung legends, and there might be an 'Amelunge hort' like the famous '*Ermenrîches* hort' of which so much is told. Again, the Vilk. saga cap. 381 makes Etzel the avaricious first get at Siegfried's gold which is locked in a mountain, and then significantly die of hunger, so that the Niflûnga skattr drags him also to destruction; while Danish lays have it, that Gremild, immured in the mountain, pines to death in presence of Nöglings (i.e. Nibelung's) pelf (Heldens. p. 306). So many conflicting yet connected accounts may justify us in conceding even to that far older *aurum Tolosanum*, which the Tectosages *sunk in the lake* of Tolosa, some influence on old Gothic legend.[1]

Stories of *submerged castles* are found in abundance. When the waters are at rest, you may still descry projecting pinnacles of towers, and catch the chiming of their bells. Scarcely can enchanted men be dwelling there; all life is grown dumb beneath the waves. Three legendary features I will single out. The approaching doom is commonly announced by *talking beasts*: the enormity of the crime whose punishment impends has lent them speech, or some magic has opened to man the meaning of their

[1] Justinus 32, 3; conf. Duncker's Origines Germanicæ, p. 31.

tones. The serving-man tastes a piece off a silver-white snake, and immediately knows what the fowls, ducks, geese, doves and sparrows in the yard are saying of the speedy downfall of the castle (DS. no. 131). This is told of Isang's castle near Seeburg, a similar story of Tilsburg near Dahlum (p. 774), and no doubt in other neighbourhoods as well. Another thing we come across is, that a good man who is sick sends his son out to *observe the weather*, and is told first of a clear sky, next of a tiny cloudlet on the mountain's edge, and by degrees of a cloud as big as a hat, as a washtub, as a barn-door; then the old man has himself carried in all haste up a hill, for the judgments of God are now let loose on the Suggenthal, Sunkenthal (Mone's Anz. 8, 535; conf. Schreiber's Tagb. for 1840, p. 271). That is a forcible description of the swift advance of an unforeseen calamity. The same legend presents us with yet a third feature full of meaning. When the water had wrecked and swamped all the houses in Suggenthal, there remained alive only that old man and his son, and one small infant. This child, a boy, *floated in his cradle* all through the flood, and with him was a cat. Whenever the cradle tilted to one side, the cat jumped to the other, and restored the equilibrium; in this way the cradle safely arrived below Buchholz, and there stuck fast in the *dold* or crown of a tall oak. When the water had subsided, and the tree was accessible again, it was fetched down, and child and cat were found alive and unhurt. As nobody knew who the boy's parents had been, they named him after the tree-top *Dold*, and the name is borne by his descendants to this day (Mone's Anz. 6, 69 and more completely 8, 535). The story perfectly tallies with that Welsh one quoted p. 580, where, in spite of all difference of detail, the main thing, the child's being saved in the cradle, is related just as it is here; which also seems to me to confirm the sense I ascribed to the ON. lûðr p. 559n. A pretty adjunct is the companionship of the auxiliary cat, who together with cock and dog was required by simple-minded antiquity to give evidence (RA. 588). From the name of this foundling *Dold* (OHG. Toldo, i.e. summit-born) I understand now what the common people mean by being born on an oak or walnut-tree (p. 572n.); how exactly the myths of Creation and Deluge fit in together, is past doubting (see Suppl.).

CHAPTER XXXIII.

DEVIL.

The notion of the Devil and of devilish spirits, which has by degrees acquired so wide a compass and struck such deep root even in the popular religion, was unknown to our heathenism.

It seems a general rule, that a Dualism dividing the Supreme Being into opposites, where it is not [already] based on the earliest profound thought of a system, (such as the Zendic), never gets established at a later period except by abstract philosophizings. To the sensuous mythologies lying in the great middle it is ill-adapted.

An all-pervading idealistic distinction between a good and an evil spirit, Ormuzd and Ahriman,[1] is known neither to the Indian and Greek theologies, nor to the Teutonic. Before the might of the *one* all-governing God the kakodæmon's power fades away. Then out of this unity there grow up trilogies (Brahma, Vishnu, Siva; Zeus, Poseidon, Pluto; Wuotan, Donar, Frô; Hâr, Iafnhâr, Thriði), dodecalogies, and the plenitude of pantheism. But it is to my mind a fundamental feature of polytheism, that the good and beneficent principle in the Divine preponderates; only some isolated deities, subordinate to the whole, incline to the evil or hurtful, like the Norse Loki, whose nature even then is more on a par with that of Hephæstus (Vulcan) than of the christian Devil. Goodness predominates even in elvish sprites: to the nix, the homesprite, nay the giant, it is but partially that cruelty and malice are attributed. In harmony with this is the mild way in which our antiquity pictures death and the underworld.

But for all that, amid the vast variety of character and colouring in these mythologies, the Dualistic antagonism need not altogether be silent: it does break out in individual features, without greatly affecting the whole. Under this head come, e.g.

[1] The genuine forms are Ahurômazdâo and Agrômainyus, but the former is often called Çpentômainyus, *ἀγαθὸς δαίμων*, in contrast to Agrômainyus the *κακὸς δαίμων*. Burnouf's Comm. sur le Yaçna pp. 90. 92.

the myths of Day and Night, of Elves light and dark (p. 444), of Summer and Winter.[1]

The Jewish monotheism accorded to its Satan (שָׂטָן) only the subordinate part of a tempter and traducer, as is plainly shewn in the book of Job, and confirmed by the Greek term διάβολος which the LXX and New T. use alternately with σατᾶν, σατανᾶς (Arabic shaitan) or δαιμόνιον (usually for Hebr. shéd שֵׁד). After the Captivity the Jews were more familiar with the idea of Dualism, and in N.T. times their whole demonology had largely expanded; Beelzebub is spoken of as prince of all evil spirits, whom the O. T. knows merely as a heathen idol: so that, even as early as that, false gods come to mean demons or devils.

It pertains to the history of Christianity to explain how there came to be added the notion of Lucifer,[2] a rebel spirit of light who took up arms against God, and with his adherents (in Matth. 25, 41 the devil has already 'his angels') was banished into darkness. Luke 10, 18: ἐθεώρουν τὸν σατανὰν ὡς ἀστραπὴν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πεσόντα, as the lightning darts into the ground, whereas a falling star usually affords a pleasing image (p. 722). At the same time, this revolt of the Devil and his companions must be supposed to have had a higher antiquity. Thus arose the doctrine of a satanic empire in rivalry with the celestial, a doctrine that daily met with more acceptance: the evil spirits may be the weaker side and suffer defeat, but they go about enlisting wicked men, and seek thereby to replenish their host. Compacts are made with the Devil, and he aids his confederates even during their earthly life.

From another side, the conversion of the Heathen itself contributed to expand and diversify the prevailing conception of the Devil's agency. It has been remarked more than once, that the deserted heathen deities were declared vanquished and shorn of their strength, yet not downright powerless: their once kindly benignant sway had turned into a fierce fiendish one. Thus what the Christians believed about the Devil received at the

[1] The old faith of the Slavs set up a white and a black god: Bèlbogh and Chernibogh. But this dualism seems to me neither thoroughgoing nor primitive.

[2] It arose out of Isa. 44, 12: 'how art thou fallen from heaven, fair Morning-star!' But it appears first in Eusebius (Demonstr. evang. 4, 9), not in Tertullian, nor Irenæus nor Lactantius. Even Jerome and Augustine never call the devil Lucifer.

hands of the Heathen a twofold enlargement: heathen gods and spirits already malign and gloomy in themselves readily dropt into the christian category of devilish beings; with greater difficulty and more resistance from public opinion, was effected nevertheless the transmutation of the good gods of old into spectres and demons. In this process names for the most part got suppressed or disguised; myths and stories were not so easily to be abolished.

In not a few cases the Devil may be regarded as a *parody* or *aping* of the true God, as the left or wrong-side (taken mildly, the foil p. 515) of the Divine Being[1]: he wants to have the same power, enjoy the same honour, and mimic God in everything; but his contrivances miscarry and come to nought. So the idea of a Devil's-mother might have arisen as counterpart to Mary the mother of God, though she had an earlier prototype in the giant's-mother (see Suppl.).

All these influences so diverse in kind have joined to produce such popular notions of the Devil's being and character, as have existed from the N. T. to our own times. The Devil is Jewish, Christian, Heathen, a false god, an elf, a giant, a spectre, all in one. By the addition of him, Christianity could not but receive, just as heathen Polytheism was expiring, a visible bent towards Dualism, which afterwards philosophy tried to resolve into a general principle of good and another of evil. When we compare the cheerful tone of Greek myths with the harshness and grimness imparted to the legends of our Mid. Ages by the intrusion of an all-too positive Devil, we see that the contrast comes out not so much in the original texture of the popular beliefs, which is everywhere the same or similar, as in the colour laid upon it; and therefore our inquiry is entitled to resolve a whole mass of devil-phenomena back into the milder forms of ancient spirits and gods.

Before I attempt to isolate so much of these traditions as is due to our Teutonic paganism, or at least that of our next neighbours, it is even more than usually necessary to make sure of the various names employed.

[1] Gotfried of Viterbo 1, 23 propounds the query: 'Quare creavit Deus diabolum, cum sciret eum malum esse futurum? Respondeo, quia propter operis sui ornatum, sicut pictor nigrum colorem substernit, ut albus apparentior fiat, sic per praevaricationem malorum justi clariores fiunt.'

The word *teufel, devil,* is un-Teutonic, being simply διάβολος retained.[1] Ulphilas, following the Greek text, distinguishes *diabaúlus, satana* and *unhulþô,* translating δαιμόνιον by the last, to which I shall have to come back. In OHG. *satanas* is kept unaltered, but the *diabolus* of the Vulgate is cut down to *tiubil, tieval,* or to *diuval* (T.), *diufal* (O. ii. 4, 101), neut. pl. diufilir (iii. 14, 53), which likewise renders the Lat. *daemonium* (Fragm. theot. ii. 14). By this extension of meaning and contraction of form, we see that the word was getting naturalized and gradually driving the others out of the field: MHG. *tievel, tiuvel, tivel,* our *teufel;* AS. *deofol,* Eng. *devil;* M. Nethl. *duvel,* now *duivel;* Icel. *djöfull,* Sw. *djefvul,* Dan. *djävel.* It spread through nearly all Europe: It. *diavolo,* Sp. *diablo,* Fr. *diable,* O.Fr. *deable;* Pol. *djabel,* Boh. *d'abel,* Russ. *diavol,* Serv. *diavo;* the Lettish and Finnish nations, the last to be converted, have alone forborne the appellation. And, as in the case of God (p. 15), there occur euphemisms: HG. *deichel, deixl, deigel, deiker, deuker,*[2] Swiss *dyggeli, tüggeli* (Stald. 1, 325); Nethl. *duker;* Swed. *djäkul, knäkul, knäfvel* (Ihre's Prov. lex. 93[a]), also Westph. *knüvel* for düvel; Fr. *diacre,* Pol. *djachel, djasek, djablko* and many more.[3] Noticeable is N. ps. 90, 13: '*urtiefel,* chuninch anderro tiefelo,' diab. rex daemoniorum.[4] *Satan* is used rarely in MHG., very often in modern German; in the Anegenge 218[b] and in Stricker I find 'der *satanât,*' the later MLG. Zeno often repeats *satanas.* O.Fr. goufre de *satenie, saternie,* Ren. 20224, 28429, the last form stretching out a hand to Saturn (p. 249, and Suppl.).

All other names for the Devil can be brought under three points of view, according as they are drawn from his Character, his Figure, or his place of Abode. And to these may be added Disguised forms of name.

I. From his intrinsic nature the Devil is called the *evil, hostile,*

[1] So is our *engel, angel* borrowed, both name and thing. Mone, who thinks 'teufel' is unborrowed, and identifies both it and diabolus with Dionysus (Anz. 6, 354. 8, 449), will hardly boggle over the Germanness of 'engel' either. It is true διάβολος (the slanderer), which the LXX does not yet have, might in the N. T. spring out of an Oriental word allied to Pers. div and Lat. divus (p. 161).

[2] And even 'der *deutscher,*' as the Poles say *Niemiaszek* (=German) of the Devil, which may really go back to the Slav deity Nemisa?

[3] *Zabulus, zabolon,* which Mid. Age dictionaries and glosses give for diabolus, and render 'contrarius, arena,' is the same word, 'zabulônes buoch,' Ms. 2, 13a.

[4] Notker's interpretations of diabolus, '*niderris, niderfal,* chuning widerfluzze,' turn upon the fall, the down-rush, of the devils, Gramm. 2, 763

unlovely (unholde), as antithesis to the good kind gracious God. The thought is often expressed in roundabout phrases or in adjectives, often enshrined in appropriate appellatives: 'der nie guot geriet,' who never counselled good, Dietr. 40ª; 'der ie tugende stôrte,' ever thwarted virtue, Kolocz. 254; like the Edda's 'sâ er flestu illu ræðr' of Loki, Sn. 46, or the epic periphrase in Reinh. xxxii. xxxvi to describe the fox and wolf as beasts of devilish nature. 'dich hât *niht guotes* ûz gelân,' 'twas nothing good (= the devil) that left us you, Dietr. 8347; as we still say 'I have looked for him like *nothing good.*' der *übele* tiuvel, Iw. 4676. Nib. 215, 4. 426, 4. 1892, 4. Ms. 1, 59ᵇ der *übel* vîent, Gregor 2849. The *evil* foe, *evil* spirit, *evil* one; der *ubile* geist, Fundgr. 102, 34. 105, 2. der *bôse* geist 105, 7. Nethl. de *booze* vyand. 'The *crooked* devils' in Kinderm. 1, 422 means the unrighteous, evil ones. A sermon in MHG. has 'der *ubile bûman* der tivel,' Griefshaber 277. It is remarkable that in ON. we even come upon 'hinn *illi Oðinn*,' Fornm. sög. 5, 172. 10, 171. The O.Fr. poets often put *maufez, malfez, maufes* (pl. maufé, malfé) for devil; later maufais, maufaiteur, which leaves no doubt as to the sense being evildoer, evildoing.[1] As early as 585 we have *adversarius boni operis* (Pertz 3, 3), It. *aversiera,*[2] O.Fr. *aversiers,* devil. OS. *the balowîso,* malus, dirus, Hel. 33, 2; conf. ON. *bölvîs,* Sæm. 77ᵇ.93ª (bölvîsar konor 197ᵇ are witches); Goth. balvavêsei, i.e. *balvaveisei κακία,* 1 Cor. 5, 8; but our pilwiz on p. 472 can hardly be connected. Then OS. *the lêdo,* invisus, dirus, Hel. 33, 9, *lêda* wihti, maligni spiritus 48, 14; M. Nethl. de *lede* duvel[3]; OHG. der *leidige* tiefal, Diut. 3, 59; AS. se *lâða.* Again, OS. *the hatola,* odiosus, Hel. 110, 9; *hetteand* herugrim 142, 12, cruel hater and persecutor. AS. se *grimma gæst,* M.Nethl. *lede gast,* Rein. 2841. Of special importance here are names denoting a *hostile* being, resisting God

[1] Here belongs particularly the Slav. *bièz, bès* (devil), from which even OHG. *pôsi,* O. Fris. *bâse* seems to have come, being unknown to other Teut. tongues; and Slav. *zli, zly, zlo* (evil), Boh. zley-duch (evil spirit), Slovèn. slódi (zlodi, Glagolita xxxix), slo-déy (evil-doer), slom, slomik, to which again our *schlimm* (OGH. slimb, Graff 6, 793 obliquus) may be allied; Slovèn. *hudizh, hudir* (from hud, malus, Pol. chudy, miser), &c. &c. [Are not two roots confounded here: zol, zlo = bad, and s-lom, iz-lóm, raz-lóm = dis-ruptio, from lomíti, to break? And is zlódi conn. with Goth. sleidja fierce, sleiþjan to hurt?]

[2] Muratori's Antiq. 2, 1090, and *la Versiera* in Pulci 5, 42. 21, 27 (Vocab. della Crusca sub v.), *arusaria* Biondelli 249.

[3] Rein. 1280 intslêts duvels name = in des lêts (leden) duvels.

and persecuting men. The Latin Fathers favour the use of the term *antiquus hostis* (Greg. Magni opp., ed. Bened. Paris 1705. 1, 1019; his Moral. 31, 50 and Dial. 2, 30. Bonif. epist. 6, anni 723. Jonas Bobbiens. p. 5; Vita S. Romani 744ᵃ. Capitulare in Georgisch 795, and many later records, e.g. one of 1121 in Kremer's Beitr. 3, no. 24). And this our OHG. authorities imitate: *alt-fiant* (Muspilli 49); *fiant entrisk* (Hymn 24, 9), but here we cannot help thinking of the AS. for giant, *ent* (p. 524), as giants in general are supposed to be *old*, stone-old (p. 529). AS. se *ealda deofol*, se *ealda*, Cædm. 267, 5. So 'then *altan* satanâsan wilit er gifâhan (he wants to catch)', O. i. 5, 52. der satanâs *altist*, Musp. 25. In MHG.: der *alte*, Geo. 3376-85; der *elteste* 3368. In N. Friesland to this day 'de *ual* (old) düivel,' Geizh. p. 112; in England '*old* Nick, *old* Davy;' in Denmark '*gammel* Erich' (Holberg's Uden hoved og hale, sc. 5), which it would be allowable to trace back even to the divine *Erik* of heathen times (p. 361); Norweg. *gammel Sjur* (Hallager 102ᵃ); ON. *kölski*, both senex and diabolus. In the same way God is called the *old* (p. 21). Beside 'antiquus hostis' we also find *persequutor antiquus*, Vita S. Rom. 743, and *callidus hostis*, Jon. Bobb. p. 5. *hostis* generis humani (fîant mannaskînes chunnes), Hymn 24, 3. A simple *hostis* I find but rarely used, and the Goth. fijands is never anything but ἐχθρός: in OHG., *fiant* by itself can be devil; so AS. *feond* (of Grendel), Beow. 202. 1444-89; MHG. *vîent*, En. 2525; M.Nethl. *vîant*, Huyd. op St. 3, 38; O.Fr. *ennemi*; OS. *craftag fiund*, Hel. 142, 12, *unhiuri fiund* 32, 1. 164, 14; MHG. der *leidige vîent*, Fundgr. 66, 4. der *bœse vîent*, Geo. 345, like our *böse feind* [while Engl. *fiend* is nothing but devil]. *gêrfiund*, Hel. 32, 2 seems to be a strengthened form (ger = jaculum, hasta). Out of the ON. *fiandi*, taken in the sense of devil, arose the Dan. *fanden*, Sw. *fanen*, *fan*[1]; but in ON. itself *andskoti* was both hostis and diabolus. A word whose meaning approaches that of hostis is the OHG. scado (homo nocivus, latro), which in earlier times was also applied in a good sense to heroes (p. 342). AS. sceaða, OS. skatho, not standing alone, but in such compounds as AS. *hellsceaða*, Cædm. 56, 24. Thorpe's Anal. 126, 28, *leodsceaða*, Cædm. 56, 24, *þeodsceaða*,

[1] Conf. p. 916 *dôlgr* for spectre, devilish spirit.

Beow. 4550, *uhtsceaða* 4536, *mânsceaða* 1417-68, and OS. *mênscado*, Hel. 32, 1. 33, 15. 142, 15, *wamscado* 31, 17. 164, 4, *liudscado* 32, 14. *thiodscado* 33, 1, it designates the Devil. Now this hostile, hating, harmful being the Goths named the 'unhold,' ungracious one, by which Ulphilas translates, not as a rule διάβολος, but δαιμόνιον, yet with a vacillation of gender that claims attention. A masc. *unhulþa* stands for δαιμόνιον, δαίμων in Luke 4, 35. 8, 29. 9, 42; for σατανᾶς in 1 Cor. 5, 5; for διάβολος in Eph. 4, 27. and prob. ought to be so in Matt. 9, 33. A fem. *unhulþô* occurs, always for δαιμόνιον, in Mk. 7, 26-9. 30. Lu. 4, 33. 7, 33. John 7, 20. 8, 48-9. 52. 10, 20-1. The plur. δαιμόνια is only once rendered by masc. *unhulþans*, Lu. 8, 33, and everywhere else by fem. *unhulþôns*, Mat. 7, 22. 9, 34. Mk. 1, 32-4-9. 3, 15. 5, 12. 6, 13. 9, 38. 16, 9. Lu. 4, 41. 8, 27. 30-5-8. 9, 1. 49. The inference is, that the notion of female demons was the favourite one with the Goths, and very likely with other Germans, for in Hymn. 24, 3 the word for diabolus is the OHG. fem. *unholdâ*.[1] If as heathens they had worshipped a goddess Holdâ, how natural, in contrast with her mildness, to regard a malignant being as a female unholdâ! Thus Ulphilas's preference for the term goes far to prove a Gothic worship of Hulþô; and the translation of Diana by *Holdâ* and *unholdâ* (p. 267) is worth noting.— Again, the notion of malice and ill-will carries with it that of fierceness and wrath: so the Devil is in AS. 'se *wrâða*,' Cædm. 39, 24, in OS. 'the *wrêtha*,' Hel. 106, 8. 164, 4; AS. 'se *rêðe*' (trux, saevus), Cædm. 271, 12, the OS. would be 'the *ruodho*'; AS. 'se *grama*,' OS. 'the *gramo*,' Hel. 32, 16; also prob. AS. 'se *môdega*,' OS. 'the *muodago*,' conf. '*muodaga* wihti' for evil spirits in Hel. 120, 9; and all four of these epithets denote the wrathful, furious.[2] It should not be overlooked, first, that they are found only in Saxon poets, never in OHG. writers; secondly, that they express, especially in the plural, more the idea of demonic spirits than of the Devil: 'þâ *graman* gydena,' Bth. 35, 6 (dira numina) are the Parcae: *gromra* (gramra), Cod. Exon. 49, 5 = diabolorum; *gramôno* hêm (daemonum habitatio) in Hel.

[1] O. Slav. *nepriyèzn'* (fem.) the ungracious = diabolus; even *Sotoná* himself occurs as a fem.

[2] Our MHG. poets never give their Tiuvel the epithets 'grimm, grimmig,' these they reserve for Death (p. 849). But in AS. I find Grendel called 'se grimma gâst,' Beow. 204.

103, 10 stands for hell. Of Judas at the Last Supper receiving the sop and taking it into his mouth, the Hel. 141, 11 says; 'sô afgaf ina thô thiu Godes craft, *gramon* in-gewitun an thene lîchamon, *lêda wihti*,' so forsook him then the strength of God, demons and devils lodged themselves in his body;[1] '*gramon* habdun thes mannes hugi undergripan,' demons had got the mastery over his mind 157, 19; '*gramo*(no) barn, *fiundo* barn' are the devils' household 161, 23. 157, 18; '*gramôno*' or '*wrêtharo* willio,' devils' will and pleasure 106, 3; '*môdaga* wihti' are *unholdâ* 120, 8, conf. *môdage* 157, 18.

This application of *gram, wrêth, muodag* to daemons is, to my mind, a relic of heathen times, which clung to the converted Saxons as *unhulþô* had done to the Goths before them. Grendel is called *gram*, Beow. 1523, and *yrremôd* 1445; an ON. imprecation was 'þic hafi allan *gramir*!' Sæm. 80ᵇ, and '*gramir* hafi Gunnnar!' 208ᵇ, gramir being daemonia and exactly equiv. to the AS. gramon. Another time Sæm. 255ᵃ has 'eigi hann *iötnar*!' where the prose Völs. saga (Fornald. sög. 1, 214) gives *gramir*, so that here again comes up the affinity of devils to giants. The use of *môdag* (iratus) for diabolic spirits rather confirms an explanation of 'Muotes her' suggested on p. 931n.

One name, which I have held back till now, is of frequent occurrence in MHG. poets of the 12-13th cent.: 'der *vâlant*,' S. Uolrich 54ᵃ. 69ᵇ. 74ᵃ. Anegenge 218ᵇ. 219ᵃ. 220ᵇ. Tundal 56, 31; 'diu *vâlantinne* Herôdia' (see p. 283), Fundgr. i. 139, 6; 'der *vâlant*,' ii. 109, 42. Roth. 3106; '*vâlandes* man,' Roth. 3227. 3366; *vâlant*, Rol. 289, 7; '*vâlantes* man' 111, 5. 189, 16; 'der übel *vâlant*,' Nib. 1334, 1; *vâlandinne* (she-devil) 1686, 4; *vâlentinne* 2308, 4. Gudr. 629, 4; 'der *vâlant*,' Nib. Lam. 625. Er. 5555. Herbort 7725. Eilhart's Trist. 2837; *vâlant*, Wigal. 3994. 6976. 7022; er het gehœret den *vâlant*, er (the sentry) sprach: 'seht, bî der mûre (wall) da hôrt ich in schrîen lût, owê! er fuor die rise alsô zetal (down), daz im die stein vast walgten nâch (stones rolled after him), ich weiz nicht war im ist sô gâch (hasty),' Frauend. 375, 12—24; 'daz in der *vâlant* rîten sol,' Welsch. gast 67ᵃ; 'bî sîner stimme (voice) ich hân erkant, daz ez wære der *vâlant*,' ibid. (Reinh. 384, 50); 'der leide *vâlant*,' Trist. 8909; 'des *vâlandes* rât' 11339; '*vâlandes* man' 6217.

[1] 'Aftar themo muase, sô kleib er Satanâse,' O. iv. 12, 39.

6910. 16069; '*vâlandes* barn' 15965; '*tiuvels vâlant*, schrat und wazzerber' 92; 'dô geriet in der vâlant,' Mone's Anz. 8, 52; *vâlant*, Ottoc. 458b.[1] Certain poets abstain from the word: Wolfram, Rudolf, Conrad. In Mod. Germ. it still lives as a proper name (Faland, Phaland, Foland, Volland), otherwise it rarely occurs: 'der böse *volant*,' Chr. Weise's Comödienprobe 219; 'junker *Volland*.' Berthold's Tageb. p. 54. In Henneberg they say 'der böse *fahl*' or '*fähl*,' Reinw. 1, 30, at Frankfort 'der *fold, fuld*.'[2] In MLG. once only in Zeno 1166: 'du arge *volant!*' and nothing like it in M. Nethl. But neither do I find *fâlant, vâlant* in OHG., even as a proper name; yet one can hardly doubt its having existed, for the participial ending, as in vîant, heilant, wîgant, etc., points to an early formation. A MHG. verb vâlen, vælen, occurs only in the Martina 145. 177. 215 and Alb. Titurel, and there it means to fail, err, conf. Schm. 1, 519. *Fâlant* must either have meant the same as the adj. 'irri,' iratus, infensus, or else misleading, seducens (Goth. aírzjands, uslutônds); the AS. fælian or fælan is scandalizare, seducere, and its partic. fælend would answer to vâlant. Some such meaning may lie in the ON. fâla (Sæm. 143b. 210b gigas femina) and the verb fæla (terrere); in that case it would be credible that *fâlant* also referred originally to giants. But now that *Phol* (pp. 224—9. 614) has come upon the scene, he must not be left out of sight in attempting to explain a word so incorporated with our language: the change of *a, o* into *â* does occur in some instances, *e.g.* tâlanc, tolanc, and the popular forms 'voland, fold, fuld' are in its favour; the participial ending must remain an open question till further light be thrown on the obscure name of this ancient god. Even the fierce *Unfalo* in Teuerdank may be taken into the reckoning, as the 'un-' seems merely a prefix added to intensify the ill-repute of the word; an *Unfahl* occurs elsewhere too as a proper name.[3] Compare what is said of the pfahl-mauer (stake-wall) further on[4] (see Suppl.).

[1] Hagene was known as the *vâlant aller künige*, Gudr. 168, 2. 196, 4; all kings feared him like a devil. Mone in Ndrl. volksl. 67 makes it mean 'vaillant de tous les rois'!

[2] In the Mehlwardein, a local farce 1837, p. 16: 'ei der *Fuld!*' = devil; so in another, the Bernemer Kerb p. 13.

[3] In the Nördlingen witch-trials p. 47 an Apollonia *Unfahlin*.

[4] I fear some will take it into their heads to explain phol, phal by aphæresis of the first syllable in deofol, diufal, pretty much as Eblis is derived from diabolus.

II. Many names of the Devil turn upon his outward Form. The most striking feature is his lame foot: hence the *hinkende teufel* (diable boiteux), *hinke-bein* (limping-leg); the fall from heaven to the abyss of hell seems to have lamed him, like Hephæstus hurled down by Zeus (p. 241).[1] He further resembles that god and the lame smith Wieland (Völundr p. 376) by his skill in working metals and in building, as also by his dwelling in a *sooty* hell. Here the antithesis to clear shining white Deity demands a *dingy black hue*, as the dark elves were opposed to the light. We may therefore balance the white Baltac (p. 228), the radiant Berhta (p. 272) against the gloomy powers, light-elves against black-elves, though the two principles touch, and even generate one another. The word alp seems to contain the notion of white, night and day come out of one another, Night was the mother of Day (p. 735), Halja, Demeter, Diana, Mary (p. 312-3 n.) present themselves half *black* or wholly darkened.[2] The dark diabolic principle may be regarded as one not original, as a falling away from divine light.

The Devil is called the *black:* OS. *mirki* (tenebrosus), Hel. 31, 24. der *swarze*, Renner 36[d]. Satan exit ore torvus *colore tanquam corvus*, S. Gallenlied, 11, 3. er was *swarz als ein rabe*, Tund. 51, 17. diabolus in effigie hominis *nigerrimi*, Cæsar Heisterb. 7, 17. der *swarze* hellewirt, Ms. 2, 254[a]. der hellewirt der ist *swarz*, Parz. 119, 26. der helle-*môr*, Walth. 33, 7. der helsce *môre*, Fundgr. 1, 25. der helle-*grâve*, Anegenge 39, 46. As a dark colour hides, the evil spirit gets the name of the hidden, the secret: OS. *dernea* wihti (spiritus latentes), Hel. 31, 20. 92, 2. But in our folktales he is also indicated as *grayman*, *graymanikin*, conf. *graa told*, Dan.V. 1, 169. 180, which reminds of Wuotan and of Berhtold; I therefore lay stress on the fact, that as Berhta and Berhtolt *hand empty spindles* (pp. 274-9), the Mark legend tells exactly the same of the Devil: 'You must not spin of a Thursday evening, for the *evil one* would throw an *empty spindle* into your room, and call out, Spin that full as well!' Ad. Kuhn p. 379. Of shapes of animals, some are ascribed to the Devil chiefly on the ground of their black colour (see Suppl.).

[1] II. 1, 592. Thor threatens to lame Loki, Sn. 130, and the lightning-flash has a maiming power.

[2] The Romans called Pluto *Jupiter niger*, the black god. Silius Ital. 8, 116.

Such animal shape was often not made complete, but merely *indicated by some addition* to a configuration mainly human, much as the Greeks and Romans represented their satyrs, fauns or Pan, and to Dionysus, Actæon or Io simply added horns. The Devil then approximates to those wood-sprites, skrats and pilosi treated of in p. 478 seq.; shaped like a man in the rest of his limbs, he is betrayed by his goat's ear, his horn, tail or horse's foot. A vâlant is thus described in Tund. 51, 33: 'er het *vil der hende*,[1] an des lîbes ende einen vreislîchen *zagel* (tail), der het manigen îsnîn nagel (iron nail), manigen haken chrumben, damit er die tumben chölt unde stichet.' Even in heathen times the gods and ghostly beings could imitate beasts in some parts of their body: the Triglav of the Slavs had three goat's-heads, and a *mixture of human with animal forms* is extremely common in the Indian mythology; in the Greek and Teutonic it is rare, and then but barely hinted at. Huldra comes before us with a tail (p. 271), Berhta with the goose-foot (p. 281), the nix with a slit ear, and the nixie with wet skirt (p. 491), the hero with a swan's wing (p. 428) like Hermes with his winged feet, the water-wife with a snake's or fish's tail; even the giant has [only] a finger and toe above the common (p. 527n.). The Devil's horse-foot may suggest the semi-equine centaurs, as well as the ON. nennir (p. 490).

Conversion into complete animal form might easily arise out of this; or it might be regarded as a prerogative of the higher being to transform himself into an animal for a time.

The Devil in retiring is compelled unawares to let his *horse-foot* be seen (p. 326); a kobold (home-sprite) is also *horse-footed* (p. 511). To the water-sprite the whole or half of a *horse's* figure is attributed; that is why horses are sacrificed to rivers. A British demon *Grant*, possibly connected with *Grendel* (p. 243), shewed himself as a *foal*, Gerv. Tilb. in Leibn. 980. Loki changed himself into a *mare*, and bore Sleipnir to Svaðilföri, Sn. 46-7. The Devil appears as a *horse* in the stories of Zeno and of brother Rausch, and in legends (Zappert pp. 68—71); *black steeds*

[1] This *many-handedness* agrees with that of giants, but I do not remember to have seen the Devil represented with *more heads* than one, except in the shape of a dragon. Antichrist however was pictured with *seven heads* and a *horse's foot*, conf. Zappert ubi supra 73-4.

fetch away the damned, and even convey heroes like Dieterich to hell, Vilk. saga 393. Otto Frising 5, 3 (see Suppl.).

The representation of the Devil in the shape of a *he-goat* goes back to a remote antiquity; what can have given it such a vigorous growth among heretics and witches? The witches all imagine their master as a *black he-goat*, to whom at festal gatherings they pay divine honours; conversely, the *white goat* atoned for and defeated diabolic influence (Haupt's Zeitschr. 3, 35). In oaths and curses of the 15-16th cent. the he-goat apes the true God: 'dass in der *pock* schend!' is a frequent formula in Hans Sachs; they swore 'bei *bocks* schedel,' skull, 'bei *bocks* lid,' limbs, as by the limbs of saints, 'bei *bocks* hulde,' grace.[1] Or can *bocks* here be a mere variation of 'botz, potz, kotz' for Gotts (p. 15)? It does seem singular that the 13th cent. poets never use bock in such a sense; only Martina 156[b]. 184[b] has *helleboc* clearly for the Devil. According to Schm. 1, 151, *bockschnitt* means that bilwez-schnitt [cut through a neighbour's corn, p. 475-6], which the people ascribe to spirits and the Devil. Now the *he-goat* was the sacred beast of Donar, whom the modern notions of the Devil so often have in the background. In Switzerland the people will not eat *goats' feet*, because the Devil appears with such, or you see them when he pulls his boots off (Tobler 214); it might equally well be explained by Donar's *he-goats*, whom he served up for dinner, then brought the bones to life again, and was angry when one of them was broken. But in fairy-tales the Devil himself appears as a *bleating goat*, and already in Gregory the Great's Dial. 2, 30 as '*cornu*[2] et *trepidicum* ferens,' which I interpret, in the shape of a three-legged *goat* and horned; *three-legged* animals being spectral and diabolic (pp. 920. 934). The *posterli* also shewed itself as a *goat* (p. 933). May it not be that the figure of the he-goat sacrificed by the heathen (p. 52) was afterwards by the christians transferred to

[1] Appenzeller reimchr. 14. 87-9. 51. 72. 95, and Senkenberg sel. 1, 46. bocks angst und güt! Er. Alberus 21. bocks marter! 33. dass dich bocks esel schend! 23. dass dich box sners schende! Schreiber's Freib. urk. 2, 67. durch bocks tod! 3, 404. *bocks lid* answers to '*tiufel* und sin *lit*,' Mone's Anz. 8, 41.

[2] 'To curse one *leg* off the devil's body, and the *left horn* off his head,' Garg. 232[a]. People still say: 'he'll deny one of the devil's *ears off* him and *on* again,' Haupt 3, 368; i.e. to curse and lie so hardily as to do the very devil's figure a damage. But what means the expression: 'ir lieget dem tiuvele *an daz bein*' (Roth. 3137)? you swear falsely? (p. 1008).

the false god? In the *goat-hallowing* of the ancient Prussians[1] the victim was lifted up high.

Next to the goat the *boar*, which was sacred to Frô among the ancient gods, which affords food to the heroes in Walhalla, and moreover, far from irrelevantly, mingles in the stormful march of the Wild Host (p. 921-3), is a devil's animal; hence in the roar of the whirlwind, people cry *sû-stert* and *säu-zagel* (sow-tail), rebuking the Devil by that name (p. 632). In devils' buildings the *sow* plays another and perhaps more prominent part. The Evil One appears as a *grunting sow* (Schweinichen 1, 31). But the main point is, that here we again stumble on the name *Phol:* the MHG. *fol, fal, ful* in the compound *urful* signifies a boar, as is clear from the Schwabensp. 315 Wack., 204 Lassb., where the readings 'erfaul, urfaul, urfol, urval, wurffel' are all against 'ursûl,' which makes no more sense than 'halpswuol' in Nib. 878, 3, the variants 'halbfwol, halpfuol, helfolen' shutting us up to the combination *halp-ful, halp-fol,* i.e. half-swine as opposed to the full swine *ur-fol,* the old boar of five years.[2] Not that the god's name is to be explained by the beast's; on the contrary, in both the compounds it has been transferred to the beast, and so preserved; and as Phol is Paltar, it may now appear less venturesome to bring in as belonging here *Baltero* the boar's name in Reinardus.

A soul-snatching *wolf* the Devil was already to the Fathers (Greg. M. opp. 1, 1486). In the Laws of Cnut he is 'se *wôd-freca werewulf*' (Schmid. p. 148); Ditmar of Merseb. p. 253 calls him *lupus vorax,* and Loki's son is Fenris *ûlfr;* out of MHG. poets I have not noted down a *hellewolf,* but I hardly doubt their having used it, as Simplic. 2, 72 still does *höllenwolf.* And a Slavic name for the Devil, Pol. *wrog,* Boh. *wrah,* Serv. Slov. *vrag,* Russ. *vrag, vórog,* though it means malefactor, enemy, latro, is the same as the OHG. *warg* (lupus), Reinh. xxxvii. The Devil has monstrous jaws and throat in common with the wolf and hell: 'des tiuvels *kiuwe,*' Warnunge 540.

A *canine* conformation of the Devil is supported by many authorities: *hellehunt* in the old lay on Georio, Fundgr. 1, 13;

[1] Luc. David 1, 87. 98. Joh. Voigt 1, 616.
[2] In MSS. it is hard to distinguish the long f from f.

des *hellehundes* list (cunning), Hartm. Greg. 163. Renner 289. *wint* (greyhound) in des tiuvels biunt, *hunt* in der helle grunt, Ls. 3, 124. *hellerüde*, Martina 32ª (Diut. 2, 143), and *hellewelf* 111ª, as the Edda already supposes a *hvelpr* in hell, Sæm. 94ª, and the Greek religion a Cerberus (p. 814 n.). A fight with the *hell-hound* is described in Fundgr. 178, and as a *dog* the Devil guards treasures (p. 977). *black dog*, Superst. Denm. no. 149. des tiuvels *rüden*, Renner 23343. H. Sachs iv. 3, 31ᶜ provides him with a *quail-hound* (pointer, setter, to catch souls for him?).[1] May not the Latin *latro* (robber) have come from the barking animal, like our warg from the wolf? It makes the Devil resemble both animals more (see Suppl.).

Foremost among birds comes the *raven*, whose form the Devil is fond of assuming, Ls. 3, 256. 'der ungetriuwe *hellerabe*,' Ottoc. 298ᵇ. 803ᵇ. 'volgen wir niht dem *swarzen raben!*' Rol. 33, 23. 'volget dem *swarzen raben* niht!' Karl 19ᵇ. 'c'est uns deables, uns *corbiax*,' Ren. 28284. The black raven sent out by Noah is called the foe (feond), Cædm. 87, 11. Not only the bird's colour, cunning and quickness, but his old connexion with Wuotan (p. 671) might, as in the case of the wolf, confirm the notion. In Cædm. 188, 6 the full Odinic epithet *wælceosig* (stragem eligens), pertaining to the god's messenger-maidens (p. 417), seems archaically applied to the raven; it is true, even Jerome's commentary on Job 38, 41 had already in a far-fetched way made the (*black*) *raven* mean the Devil. In Danish folk-songs the *vilde ravn, vilde val-ravn* (the corvus stragis, OHG. walahraban) takes exactly the place of the diabolic trold, DV. 1, 186-7. In the puppet-play of Dr. Faust, it is remarkable that the *raven*, who is bearer of the written covenant with the Devil, is called the bird of *Mercury*, which would be exactly right of Wuotan. Within the last few centuries only I find the *vulture* (geier) put for the Devil,[2] still more frequently the *cuckoo*, whose connexion with magic was spoken of, p. 679. Another bird

[1] *Wahtelbein* (quail-bone, decoy-whistle) des tiuvels,' Berth. 225. 'sust verirret (so misleads) ez als ein *wahtelbein*,' Jüngl. 1210. 'in korne wart ein kündic *wahtel* nie sô sanfte *erbeinet*,' was ne'er a quail so neatly boned, Ms. 2, 206ᵇ.

[2] 'The vulture take you!' Gryphius p. m. 746. 'Where the vulture . . .?' Ettner's Unw. doctor 335. 'dass dich der geier schende!' Wackern. Lesebuch 788, 21. Fundgr. 2, 320.

whose figure is assumed is the *cock:* chanticleer and swine build together at the devil's dike (p. 1023), and from under the cloak of the human-shaped Devil peep out cock's claws in the same way as the cloven hoof.

Incomparably older and more widely diffused is the manifestation of the Devil as a *snake, worm,* or *dragon.* The serpent that beguiled in Paradise was taken for the Devil himself. Beside antiquus hostis, he is *antiquus anguis, anguifer hostis, letifer anguis, serpens* (Greg. M. opp. 1, 111. Jonas Bobb. pp. 5. 15. Vita Burgundofarae p. 427. Vita S. Romani p. 743), *serpens antiquus,* Caes. Heisterb. 7, 35, the *old dragon,* AS. *draca,* El. 765. The belief is founded chiefly on Rev. 20, 2, and on the interpretations the Fathers gave of Leviathan. A dragon is mentioned in Rev. 12, 4, who with his tail drew the third part of the stars from heaven.[1] It is in this Biblical sense that our old poets call the Devil *slange, hellewurm,* Lohengr. 141, *helletracke,* Mart. 141[d]; but there also went with it an inkling of the native superstition about venomous fire-spitting worms, treasure-guarding dragons (p. 978) and wonderful serpents (p. 684). As a dragon the Devil appears in numberless folktales, e.g. Deutsche sag. nos. 520. 858. Here I draw particular attention to that fairytale, in which it is variously the *Devil,* or the *dragon,* or the bird *griffin,* that has feathers plucked out of his tail in his sleep, Kinderm. nos. 29. 57. 165. Norske folkev. 1, 31—33. Mailath's Magyar. m. 1, 179. The dragon of misfortune dogs mankind, and one whom everything goes against will say, 'On all my luck the *Devil puts his tail.*' To the dragon also may be traced the Devil's *wings,* O. Fr. diables *enpanez,* Méon's Nouv. réc. 1, 250, like angres enpanez 1, 272. When the church represented Leviathan as an enormous *whale,* whose cheek Christ pierced with his hook (Greg. M. 1, 110; conf. supra p. 182), that was an echo of the huge hostile *world-serpent* whom Thôrr fished up from the bottom of the sea (p. 689). As snake or dragon, the Devil has enormous jaws and throat (MHG. kêwen, Ms. 2, 166[b]), like hell itself (pp. 314. 806-7. 996).

Fly-shape. The LXX translates Baal-zebub, the name of the god of Ekron, by *Βάαλ μυῖα,* fly-god (2 Kings 1, 2). Ahriman in

[1] Der *alte slange* mit sînen genôzen von himel wart her abe gestôzen, sins lîbes wesen teilt er endriu (divides in three), etc. Renner 3100 seq.

the *shape of a fly* pervaded all nature. Lith. *mussû birbiks*, fly-god (Mielke 231), birbiks usu. blowing, buzzing. Fairytales have diabolic spirits imprisoned in phials as *flies*.[1] Loki turns into a *fly* (fluga), when he wants to defraud Freyja of the brîsinga-men. Connect with this a Lombard story in Paul Diac. 6, 6 of the 'malignus spiritus' who settles on the window as a *fly*, and gets a leg chopped off; and one in Acta Bened. sect. 1, p. 238 of a devil being cast out: 'in *muscae* similitudinem prorumpens cum sanguine de naribus egressus est inimicus.' As a fly, Loki finds his way into locked rooms through the keyhole, he can slip even through a needle's eye (Norske folkev. no. 31), which puts me in mind of his insinuating mother (p. 246). The Devil, like the giant (p. 555), has the power to make himself *great or small*, N. folkev. 1, 134. 192. Of the elvish nature of *butterflies*, which as psyches (p. 829) may be spirits of good or evil, we have more to say in the sequel. When *stagbeetles* and *dungbeetles* are taken as devils, it gives assurance of a heathen point of view (see Suppl.).

But also, and that from early times, the Devil has been likened to two *implements*, the *hammer* and the *bolt*, in which I have pointed out (pp. 180. 243) the reference to heathen gods. We have still to consider here what countenance they receive from the Bible or the Church. *Malleus* is reckoned among names of the Devil already in Jerome's epistle to pope Damasus (366—384), where he expounds the parable of the prodigal son; Jerome may have picked up the expression from heathens in Dalmatia, Italy or Gaul; and he had been on the Rhine. Greg. M. (d. 603) opp. 1, 1125): 'in scriptura sacra *mallei* nomine aliquando diabolus designatur, per quem delinquentium culpae feriuntur, aliquando vero percussio coelestis accipitur . . . nam quia in appellatione *mallei* antiquus hostis exprimitur, propheta testatur, dicens: quomodo confractus est et contritus malleus universae terrae!' (Jerem. 50, 23. conf. 51, 20). The two notions of a chastising God and of a hostile heathen power seem here to meet. In Donar's hand the hammer was at once a consecrating and a crushing tool: *stormwind*, *whirlwind*, phenomena which old heathenism ascribed to the lord of thunder, and later superstition

[1] Danish story of a devil shut up in a box, Thiele 1, 18. KM. no. 99.

to giants or devils (p. 635-6. Superst. I, 522, and Esth. 100), are in some parts of Germany called *hammer*, either from their violent destructive action, or because the Devil is imagined to have stirred them up.[1] In Rhenish Westphalia, when the wind suddenly throws the doors open, or whistles through the house by fits, they say: 'do es *der aul* van terjohren!' there goes the old one of last year, you know who, we need not mention names. As the name *hamer* for devil never occurs to my knowledge in poets of the Mid. Ages, I hesitate to derive those imprecations of the vulgar (p. 181-2) from the *malleus* of the Fathers; I would rather believe in an original connexion between the heathen and Jewish beliefs. And the same might be the case with *riegel* (bolt): *vectis* is not only a thing to fasten doors with, but to shove and thump with, lever, pole, almost malleus over again. Leviathan is called *vectis*, quia usque ad necem percutit (Greg. M. 1, 111). The MHG. *hellerigel*, AS. *grendel* (p. 243) might be an imitation of this vectis, and also have an older relation to Loki.

I think I have often noticed that the Devil unwinds himself out of a *ball of yarn*. One fairytale makes him roll down the mountain as a *millstone*, Altd. bl. 1, 297. This displays his affinity to giants, for Swedish legend tells of giants who, when frightened at Thor's lightning darting through the air, come rolling down the mountain into the meadows in various shapes, mostly as *bundles of thread* or *balls*, and seek shelter with the mowers; but these, well knowing the danger, keep them back with their scythes, and it is said to have often happened that the lightning came down and shivered the scythes, whereupon the giants with rueful moans rushed back into the mountain (Afzelius 1, 10). It recalls to my mind the *windball* of the demons,[2] p. 640 (see Suppl.).

III. From the Devil's abode in hell, whence he has dislodged

[1] The Moravian peasant calls the whirlwind *hammer* (Meinert in the Vienna Jahrb. vol. 48. Anz. bl. p. 55), which may refer to Donar as well as the Devil, and thus agree with the fancies unfolded on p. 632; the Devil is described as *ventus urens* and *aquilo*, Greg. M. 1, 547. 570, and the Mod. Greeks call him ἄνεμος, Gramm. 3, 736. It is odd that the Priscillianists ascribed *storms* to the Devil, *thunder* to his roaring, *rain* to his sweat, which sounds very heathenish. The Manicheans too explained *thunderstorms* by the fury of the chained Devil.

[2] Witches confessed they had been converted into *balls*, and gone bobbing round stark naked on tables and benches. Weng's Nördl. hexenprocesse p. 54.

the heathen goddess, are borrowed his frequent names of *helle-warte* (-ward), Sumerl. 7, 9. Cod. pal. 361, 71^{c}; *hellehirte*, Parz. 316, 24; *hellegrübel*, Mart. 4^{b}. 10^{b}. 72^{b}; *hellewirt*, Ms. 2, 175^{a}, and the like. Lohengr. 70, calling him *hellescherge* (-constable), says 'er las die sîne an sich,' he gathered his own unto him, just as Wuotan receives the souls of his heroes.

His dwelling lies in the *North*, which at once agrees with the view explained p. 34. 'Leit *î norðr* (looked to N.)' occurs in the singing of a valgaldr (ferale carmen), Sæm. 94^{a}; 'diabolus sedet in lateribus *aquilonis*, Greg. M. 1, 1186; he claims to rule 'on *norðdæle*,' Cædm. 3, 8; sets his throne *nordernhalp*, Diut. 3, 40. Fundgr. 2, 11: 'niðr ok *norðr* liggr helvegr' (p. 802). The Esthonian also shuns the *north side*, Superst. N, 43; and the dæmon's waterfall runs *north* (p. 493).

I will here insert a few terms not touched upon at p. 804, because I am not sure if they originally belonged more to Hell or to the Devil. In the old play of Theophilus, after he has sold himself to Satan, he is conducted to a castle, where it is cold, but high feasting is kept up: 'up de *Ovelgunne*' (ill-favour). This name, aptly expressing the envy and malice of the fiendish nature, is borne by several places in Lower Germany: an *Ovelgunne* in the Magdeburg country, one in the Münster, near Hortsmar, and one in the Osnabrück between Witlage and Dümmersee; an *Övelgunne* by Werben in the Altmark, an *Ovelgönne* in Oldenburg, an *Ovelgünne* estate in Eidighausen parish, Minden country, an *Übelgünne* by Warburg, Paderborn country, and four or five more in L. Germany. Probably other localities have the same name, which makes one think of the equally well chosen *Ubelloch* (Malpertuis) in our 'Reinhart.' Whether they were so named in allusion to the Devil, or, as I rather think, to their bleak northerly aspect, is a point to be determined; in the latter case the name is fitly transferred to the Devil's dwellingplace, which is directly opposed to heaven's blessed and blissful hall of joy (p. 820).—Again, they say in L. Saxony: 'na *Hekelvelde* varen,' fare to H., Sam. Meiger cccliii^{a}; in Denmark: 'gaa du dig til *Häkkenfeldt!*' Lyngbye's Fär. qv. p. 549. Thiele 3, 71 spells it 'til *Hekkenfjälds*'; what if the allusion be to Hakelberg, Hakelbernd (p. 923)? Veld is not our feld, but the ON. fiall (fell, mons), as the Dan. form fjäld shews; and Hakelberg may

be the furious hunter's and therefore the Devil's abode, nay, it is evidently Mount *Hekla* in Iceland, sometimes called *Heklufiall*, a rendezvous of witches; and Fischart Garg. 119ᵇ calls it *Heckelberg*. Hekla itself is apparently named from the shape of the cloak or cowl (cucullus), as Wôdan is the cloaked one, hacol-berand; so that there are many points of contact.— *Abyssus*,[1] whence our *nobis*, I have spoken of, p. 805, and only wish now to give fuller examples of the latter form. Kilian has: *nobisse* (daemon, nanus, cacodaemon), *nobisgat* (orcus), *nobiskroech* (orcus). I dare say there are even more *Nobiskrugs* in L. Germany than Ovelgunnes, the name is often given to border taverns [krug=jug, alehouse], where you get as it were into a new country; thus you find a *nobiskrug* on the Frisian and Saxon frontier in Ostringien bailiwick, Oldenburg, another between Altona and Hamburg; by Kiel, by Münster, out of the way publichouses receive the name, which does not convey quite the bad sense of our hell, but rather the ancient one of death and the underworld: 'he is na *nobs-kroge*' means no more than he is dead. *Nobiskrug* is also used by HG. writers of the 16-17th cent., usually for hell, devil's tavern, he being a helle-*wirt* (-landlord): 'in *nobiskrug* faren,' Luther's Table-talk, ed. 1571, 418ᵃ. 'the rich man's soul in *nobiskrug*,' Fisch. Garg. 53ᵇ. 'that he die not thus unshriven, and fare perchance to *nobis-haus*' Eulensp. 277. 'darauff sie sagt, sie wird dalent me in *Nobiskrug* sein' (=be dead), L. Thurneisser's Nothgedr. ausschr. 1584, iii. 85. 'dein seel fahr hin in *nobiskrug*,' Cursus Cleselianus. 'fehrst in *nobiskrug*,' Ayrer 76ᵇ. 'the Devil builds alway his chapel and *nobiskrug*, where God his church hath set,' Andr. Musculus's Hosenteufel 1630, p. 16. 'to have been in *nobiskrug*,' Chr. Weise's Floretto p. 74. *nobishaus*, Burc. Waldis 191ᵃ. 303ᵇ. According to Stald. 2, 240 *nobiskratten* are the place where unbaptized children go.

More beautiful is Walther's (123, 38) expression for hell, 'daz *verlorne tal*,' recalling Dante's 'citta dolente' and his 'per me si va tra la *perduta gente*' (see Suppl.).

[1] Provençal *abis*, Rayn. 1, 14ᵃ, conf. 1, 184ᵇ baratro, baratrum; but even the Italian has by the side of *abisso* formed a *nabisso* (from in-abisso). In Rol. 195, 1 a heathen standard-bearer is called *Abisse*, but the O. Fr. poem has *Abismes*, as if hell's abyss. The Brem. wtb. 3, 254 gives the older form *obiskroog*, *obskroog*.

IV. Obscure names. On the Goth. *skôhsl* for δαιμόνιον a conjecture was hazarded p. 487, which is strengthened or weakened by the AS. *scocca* (also spelt *sceocca, scucca*,[1] therefore hardly *scôcca*); with *skôhsl* as it is spelt, the root skaka (quatio) would agree, while skiuha (timeo) would require skuhsl. Still nearer perhaps is the ON. *skass* (femina gigas), for which in Sæm. 154ᵇ the MS. reads *skôs*. There is one expression for devil now largely diffused in Germany, but nowhere used except as a diminutive: L. Sax. *stöpke, stöpke in der helle*, on the Main *stebchen, stäbchen*, in thieves' slang *steppche, stepches*, U. Sax. *stebgen, stöpgen*, Thur. *stöpfel*, Baden *steubel;* what is meant by it is particularly the flying fiery dragon, who calls at the homes of his devotees, bringing them money and corn; a fiery man, a will o' wisp (Superst. I, 611), and the will o' wisp was called dôlgr, foe, fiend (p. 916): all this throws no light on the origin of the word. A L. Saxon and Westphalian name already touched upon p. 521 n., is *drôs*, de *drôs in der helle, dross;* people swear 'bi'm *drôs*,' and curse 'dat di de *drôs* slâ!' Brem. wtb. 1, 257. The HG. *drus, truos, drüs* appears to correspond, but is only used impersonally of pestilence, ch. XXXVI. There is a host of provincialisms besides, and I can neither quote nor explain them all: in Switzerland they say *kuhni, kueni*, Stald. 2, 142, perhaps the bold, reckless one; in Ravensberg district *kramberend* (conf. Brem. wtb. under krambeer, krambeker), *bramberend* (from bram, broom, genista?), *hanax*, etc.; the M. Nethl. *barlebaen, barlibaen* (Huyd. op St. 3, 38. Rein. 5184. Fergût 1754. 2372. 3763), occurs pretty often, but is unintelligible, and the Romance languages afford no light; the only thing like it is the O. Eng. *barlibak* (acc. to Massinger 1, 80 the name of an evil spirit), and barlibreak, barleybreak is a play in which hell is represented (Nares sub v.); a MHG. 'bœser *frîmurc*,' Turl. Wh. 136ᵃ, said to be spelt *fêmurc* in Cod. Pal., seems to contain murc (putridus), Wh. 23, 5, and the ON. myrkr, AS. myrce (tenebrosus) p. 830; lastly, 'ein tiuvel der hiez *oggewedel*, der ie die êrsten lüge vant,' invented lies, Ms. 2, 250ᵇ: *wedel* is flabellum, and occurs in other names for the devil, Grünwedel, Strausswedel, ch. XXXIV, and

[1] Beow. 1871 lâðum *scuccum* and *scinnum* (invisis daemonibus et praestigiis), conf. *scinna* þeaw (praestigiorum mos), Cod. exon. 362, 4; *sceuccum* onsæcgan (daemoniis immolare), Ps. 105, 27; sceucegyldum (sculptilibus), ib. 26.

harmonizes with fiederwisch, whisk; and if *ogge* be the same as ocke, ecke, uoke (p. 237), the OHG. form would be *Uokiwedel*, flabellum horrendum.

Several appellations are proper names of men, bestowed on the evil spirit either as euphemisms or in good-natured pity, just as on homesprites (p. 504) and will o' wisps (p. 917). Such are the Engl. old *Davy*, old *Nick* (Nares sub v. Nicholas), though here there may also be an allusion to Hnikar (p. 488); the Dan. gammel *Erik* (p. 989); the Swiss kueni above may mean *Kueni* (Conrad, as the noisy ghost was called Kurt, p. 913 n.); and is *Benz* (in Keisersb. teufel, Oberl. sub v.) Benno? [Burns's Nickie Ben?]; a Bavar. *Muchsel* might come from Nepomuk, unless we prefer Schmeller's interp. 'sly sneak' 2, 546 [mugger, s-muggle?]; but hardly *Stepchen* from Stephen? *Velten* (Valentin) often stands for devil ('potz Velten!'), I suppose with an allusion to vâlant, p. 991; so does 'meister *Peter, Peterchen, Peterle,*' Ettn. unwürd. doctor 672, and this recalls nicknames for a thief-taker or constable, who is likewise called meister *Peter* or *Hemmerlin*, RA. 883, so that he lends a name to and borrows one from the devil, for the devil is 'hell's constable,' he binds and torments souls, and is called *henker, diebhenker* [Burns's auld Hangie]. Now, as soldiers give their provost-marshal the nickname 'stepchen' too, it is worth considering whether *stepfel* may not come from the MHG. *stempfel*, Ms. 2, 2^{b}, which again brings up the question of frau *Stempe's* spectral nature (p. 278). A record of 1177 (no. 71 in Seibertz) has *Stempel* as a proper name (see Suppl.).

Such grafting of the Devil on older native beliefs in spirits and semi-divine beings was altogether natural, as christian opinion held these to be diabolic, and the people tried to domesticate the outlandish Devil. Hence Fischart could call him *butze* (p. 506): 'may I become the very *butze's* if, etc.' Garg. 224^{a}; and the same in Altd. bl. 1, 55. The *skratti* (p. 478) of ON. superstition hovers somewhere between woodsprite, devil and giant, and so is *tröll* (p. 526) a 'daemon' in this more comprehensive sense.[1] In the cursing formulas '*tröll* hafi þik!' or '*tröll* hafi þîna vini!' Nial. cap. 38, '*tröll* hafi þik allan!' Kormakss.

[1] *Tröll* ok *övættr*, Fornald. sög. 2, 248; *tröll* ok *eigi maðr*, Finnbogas pp. 264. 292. 340.

188, '*tröll* taki hann!' Orvarrodss. cap. 9, 'fara î *trölla* hendr!' Laxd. p. 230, it answers exactly to our Devil, yet also to the older and more pagan one: 'eigi þik gramir' or 'iötnar!' (p. 990-1). In Sæm. 39 we read: 'farþû nû þar *smyl* hafi þic!' It seems that Scandinavian sorceresses call the Devil *urdar mânî* (luna saxeti, Biörn sub v.), which I know of nothing to compare with. And as Loki is next of kin to Hel (p. 312), we find the Devil in close contact with Death (p. 854): 'den *tiuvel* and den *tôt* vürhten,' Frîd. 67, 9.

So far our survey of a great variety of names (from which however all merely Jewish ones, like Beelzebub, Asmodi, Belial etc., had to be excluded) has already shewn an admixture of heathen ingredients, or betrayed a still older identity or similarity of christian and pagan beliefs. Apparently words like *gram, unhold,* and perhaps *scado,* can only have been applied to the newly adopted Devil because they already signified to the heathens a hostile hateful spirit. *Old* was already said of giants, and could the more readily be used of the Devil. *Wolf, raven, goat* called to mind the animals that escorted heathen gods or were sacrificed to them. The designations *hammer* and *bolt,* and the *northerly* residence were, to say the least, in accord with heathen notions.

Let us try whether these results are likewise supported by the substance of the tales and traditions.

To the new converts the heathen gods were one and all transformed, not only into *idols,* i.e. false lying gods (galiuga-guþ, as Ulphilas advisedly renders idola), but into *devils,* i.e. fellows and partners in a rival kingdom, whose dominion was broken down, but yet even under retreat, put forth some power. Whoever clung to the ancient gods and sacrificed to them in secret, was a devil's servant, and his idolatry a downright *diobol-geld* (p. 38-9); formulas of abjuration were imposed, which quote in one category the devil and the once honoured gods.[1] In the AS. Laws *deoflum geldan* means simply to serve the old gods. This mode of thinking, which gave the ancient deities more than their due, could not

[1] 'Forsachistu diobole (dat.)?' 'Ec forsacho *diabole* end allum *diobolgelde,* end allêm dioboles wercum end wordum, Thuner ende Wôden ende Saxnôte ende allêm thêm *unholdum* thê hiro genôtas sint.

always be avoided, sô long as a belief in the reality of those gods was undestroyed in the hearts of men: the new doctrine could more easily take root and germinate by representing the old as odious and sinful, not as absolutely null; the christian miracles looked more credible when something supernatural was allowed to time-honoured heathenism too. This view found a precedent in the New Test. itself: the god Beelzebub of the O.T. had dropt into the class of devils. Long in the habit of regarding Jupiter, Mercury, Mars and Venus as diabolic beings, how could the converters, preaching christianity to our forefathers, have set Donar, Wuotan, Zio, Frouwa and the rest in any other point of view?

What is said and sung of the breaking of heathen images of gods entirely confirms the fact that the false gods were credited with some degree of diabolic activity. When thrown down, they complain, as demons, of the violence of the intruders (p. 498-9): *Perun's* image, which the men of Novgorod dragged through their streets and flung into the Volkhov, broke into wailings on the faithlessness of his former adorers. Olaf talks to the statue of *Freyr* (p. 657), and with *Thôrr* he has to stand a regular contest (p. 177). St. George compels *Apollo's* image to walk and speak, Geo. 33—35. *Mars*, a 'lügelîche got,' had prophesied at Rome the Saviour's birth, and when it took place, his image suddenly crumbled down: 'als der *tievil* dô verdolte den slac (tholed, suffered the blow) von himel sô grôzen, er fuor *ze sînen genôzen* (fared to his comrades) sâ verstôzen in die helle, dâ ist er gebunden sêre, daz er niemer mêre her ûz mac gereichen,' Maria 191-3. Darius writes to Alexander: if thou get the better of me, 'so mugen von himele mîne gote zo der helle wesen bote,' Alex. 2542, i.e. they have belied my confidence, and are *devils*. Medieval poetry is full of such statements. I have shewn in ch. XXXI the way in which *Wuotan*, distorted into a *Wuotunc* and *wütende* (furious) *hunter*, appearing at the head of the Wild Host, was made a *devil* of (p. 920). That is why the Devil is called *helle-jager*, Mart. 62[d]. 174[d]: 'er *rûschte* als der tiuvel *in dem rôre*,' MsH. 3, 187[a]; 'als in (him) der tiuvel *jagete*,' Livl. chr. 96[b]. Our folktales make him either *ride a black steed*, or drive in a magnificent *car* (Mone's Anz. 8, 184) like Wuotan and like Donar.

Wuotan was known as the god and inventor of *gaming*, and of *dice* in particular (pp. 150. 160): it was he that gave the all-winning die to Player Jack in the fairytale. But very commonly dice-playing is ascribed to the *devil*, in folktales he looks on at the game, especially if played during divine service on Sunday, and he plays with men, who have to stake their own souls;[1] in witch-trials he is called *Schenzerlein*,[2] dicer, from schanzen to throw dice, Schm. 3, 374; and he lies in wait for gamblers, Renn. 11316 seq.

Judaism has devils, but knows nothing of she-devils; all power for good or evil it places in the hands of male beings (p. 396). To put it still more generally: gods are altogether the older, and a strict Monotheism or Dualism recognises gods alone; it is in the mellower fulness of Polytheism that goddesses first emerge. The Teutonic paganism, like others, is fond of female deities and elves: even the Goth. vaíhts (genius) is feminine (p. 439). Divine mothers, bright benignant dames, norns, valkyrs, wood-wives, water-maidens, formed a main part of the religion: only kobolds and home-sprites are exclusively male; the very giantesses are often lovely in mien and manners, and the world of the dead is ruled by a goddess.

Following this general tendency, as a negative must run on the lines of the positive, it was Teutonic to the core for Ulphilas to translate δαιμόνιον by *unhulþô*, and not to form a neuter, which would have been just as easy. To the converted Goths this *feminine unholda* fills the place of what their fathers had believed in as Holda.

It is no slight confirmation of the diabolic nature of Grendel in Beowulf, that he has a *mother* at his elbow, one with even more of the giant in her than he; that she tries to avenge his death, and the hero's exploit is not complete until her discomfiture: *Grendel's môdor* 2517-64. 3076. It is a very ancient feature in our nursery-tales, that in the Devil's dwelling sits likewise his *grandmother* (mother, or sister), and when the hero turns in for shelter, she takes pity on him and befriends him against the monster, Kinderm. 1, 152. 2, 188 devil's grandmother (*ellermutter*, great-grandm.). Oðinn taunts the Vala with being

[1] E.g. in Tettau and Temme's Preuss. sagen 197-9. 200-212.
[2] Nördlinger hexenprocesse, p. 46.

'þriggja þursa *môðir*,' Sæm. 95ᵇ. The human guests usually arrive while the devil is out, they are then concealed by her, and smelt out by the son on his return. So Thôrr and Týr come into giant Hýmir's house, where they find his 900-headed grandmother (amma) and another female, his sweetheart, who hides them under the cauldron, Sæm. 53ᵃ. The Indian giant too has a soft-hearted sister living with him (p. 459). Now those stories of the devil were known here in the 13th cent.; a poem of the Cod. Vindob. 428 no. 154 contains the words: 'der donr slahe uns beide! der *tiuvel* brâhte mich zuo dir, und dich *sîn muoter* her ze mir,' his mother brought you to me; 'mit des *tiuvels muoter* wette loufen,' run a race with; Wahtelmære 108: 'ist diz der *tufel* daz hie vert (rides), oder *sîn muoter*, oder *sîn sun?*' Herb. 7729; 'der *tufil* adir sîn *eldirmuoter*.' Altd. bl. 1, 264; 'des *teufels muoter*,' Cl. Hätzl. 219, 16; and in Margareta v. Limburg she plays an important part (Mone's Anz. 4, 166). We see that she is by turns represented as all that is bad, outdoing even her son, and again as of a gentler disposition: 'a widower a widow wedded, the *devil* to *his dam* was added' (things got worse) says Burc. Waldis 138ᵃ; 'kam nicht der Mansfelder, der *teufel mit seiner mutter*' (omnia mala simul), Berl. kal. 1844 p. 298: 'to swear one of the *hangman's grandam's* legs off,' Simplic. 2, 254; 'I fear me not, were it the *devil and his dam*.'[1]—And this subject again contributes popular explanations of natural phenomena: a sure indication of old myths in the background. When rain and sunshine rapidly succeed each other, it is said as a proverb, 'the *devil* bleaches his *grandmother* (de düvel blekt sin möm)': in Switzld. 'the *devil* beats his *mother*,' Tobler 294ᵃ (also, the heathen hold a hightide); of a brown complexioned man, 'he's run out of the devil's bleaching ground (he is dem düvel ût der bleke lopen)'; if it thunders while the sun shines, the *devil* beats *his mother* till the oil comes.'[2] In Nethl., 'de *duivel* slaat zyn wyf,' and ''tis kermis in de hel (nundinae sunt in inferno).' In Fr., 'le *diable* bat sa *femme*,' when it rains amid sunshine (Tuet's Proverbes no. 401). In connexion with this ought to be taken

[1] Conf. Felner's Flores philol. cap. 7 p. 103. Names of the devil or his grandmother were given to cannon (Rommel 4, 180); 'Huck vor die hölle'=D.'s mother (Stender's Lett. wtb. 2, 337ᵃ).

[2] Praetorii Blocksbergverr. 2, 113. Brem. wtb. 1, 97.

the explanation of crackling fire (p. 242) and of earthquake (p. 816-7). The last quotation names the wife instead of the mother, like the iötun's *frilla* in Hýmis-qviða; and Hagene says of Brunhild, who made him feel uncomfortable, 'jâ sol si in der helle sîn *des übelen tiuvels brût* (bride)', Nib. 426, 4. A Greek, seeing giant Asprian grind fire out of stones, cries out, 'heir veret des *tuvelis brût*,' Roth. 1054; just as another giant's (the *Wind's*) *bride* fares along (p. 632). Percuna *tete* (p. 173) washes her son the Thunder-god in a bath: this is the Bavarian '*anel* with her ley' (p. 641). In Austria they tell (Ziska pp. 14—16), of the devil's *franel* (= ver anel), how she felt dull in hell, and came for a change to the Highlands (Up. Austria), where she got her son to build her a castle near the Danube, imagining the people would worship her as much as the virgin Mary; but as no one wanted her and the people laughed at her, she was enraged, and threw a huge piece of rock with a part of her castle into the Danube, at the spot now called *wirbel* and *strudel*, and the ruins of her house are still named the *devil's tower;* conf. p. 592 on whirlpools. I suppose no one can doubt that all these notions date from heathen times[1] (see Suppl.).

Private sacrifices, intended for gods or spirits, could not be eradicated among the people for a long time, because they were bound up with customs and festivals, and might at last become an unmeaning harmless practice. We have seen how a clump of ears was left standing in the field for Wuotan or dame Gaue, and a bushel of oats was presented to Death or the Wild Hunter. This the clergy of an older time would at once have set down as *deoflum geldan* (Leges Wihtrædi 13). It is certain that the centuries immediately following the conversion still witnessed lighted candles beside holy waters (p. 584). In Norway *lambs* and *kids*, mostly *black* ones, were offered to the watersprite (p. 493); and similar sacrifices were in use among the Lettons and Lithuanians in modern times. Whirlpools and rivers demanded *goats* and *horses* (p. 592), Hecate *black lambs*. In a Hessian folktale the Devil guards a treasure, and will allow no one to lift it unless he offer to him a *black he-goat exactly a year and a day old*. This is an almost invariable incident in

[1] Mone in Anz. 8, 450 interprets the devil's mother as Demeter, who in the Eleusinian mysteries is made the mother of Dionysus.

treasure-lifting, and must have been deeply stamped on the people's imagination. To the examples given at p. 977 I will add one from the mouth of the peasantry in L. Saxony. Whoever goes into the forest on Shrove Tuesday and sits down under a harrow, may look on at everything, the beasts rushing through the wood, the king on his car with foxes [sorrel horses?] going before him, and whatever there is to be seen that night. A shepherd who knew this and wished to try it, went and sat under the harrow in the wood, and looked through the holes; then, when the devilry was over, he tried to creep out again from under the harrow, but he sat fast, and the Devil stood beside him, shewing his teeth: 'have you got a *black sheep*,' said he, 'one that is *coalblack* all over? Give it me, and you'll get loose.' The shepherd lay there till daylight, then some people passing through the wood tried to set him free, but could not, so he had his *black sheep* fetched, the Devil took it and flew up in the air with it, and the shepherd got loose. *Black cocks* were also sacrificed (Dieffenbach's Wetterau 279), but there must *not* be a *white feather* on them, Bechst. 4, 207. Little men of the mountain can also be conjured up, if you place a new table for them, and set two dishes of milk, two of honey, two plates and nine knives upon it, and kill a *black hen*, DS. no. 38. Guibertus (vita 1, 24) speaks of a cock-sacrifice that was still in use in France: 'diabolo *gallo litare*, ita ut ovum de quo concretus est, die Jovis, mense Martio, in gallina constet expositum;' the cock was roasted, and carried to the pond (i.e. to a watersprite again). In H. Sachs iii. 3, 13^c a man says he will *cover* two old women with *bear skins, stick them all over with green lozenges*, and give them to the *Devil* on new-year's day. In Burcard Waldis 150^a we read of 'sending the soul *stuck over with may* (or birch) to the *Devil*.'[1] To *light a candle to the Devil* (Schweinichen 2, 54) is preserved to this day as a proverbial phrase. *Drink-offerings* to the highest gods of heathenism must after the conversion have appeared *devilish*. At p. 56 was mentioned the *kufe* (cask, bowl?) out of which our ancestors drank

[1] These must be thoroughly popular phrases. In Christ. Weise's Drei erznarren, Lp. 1704 p. 426: 'if she were my wife, I'd have her *gilded* and *stuck over with rosemary*, put an *orange in her mouth*, and sell her to the *hangman* for a sucking-pig.' In his Klügste leute, Augsb. 1710 p. 124: 'ay, you should *stick him over with rosemary, gild his snout, and squeeze* a Borstorf *apple between his teeth*, you could invite the *Devil* to dine off him then.' That is how old-fashioned cookery used to garnish its roast.

Wuotan's minne; perhaps even 'Saturni *dolium*' (pp. 126. 247) was no bath, but a drinking vessel. It seems worth noting, that in an AS. sermon the words in 1 Cor. 10, 20 'non potestis calicem Domini bibere et calicem daemoniorum,' which Ulphilas renders verbally (ni magu þ stikl Fráujins drigkan jah stikl skôhslê), are thus expressed: 'ne mage ge samod drincan ures Drihtnes calic and þæs *deofles cuppan*,' so that 'cuppe' was the technical name of the heathen vessel. People still say, if you leave anything in your glass, that you are *sacrificing to the Devil* (Garg. 43[b]). But there is also ground for maintaining that a devil's or hell's *bath* was believed in, as we saw before: 'ze helle baden,' Welsch. gast 105[a]; 'to get into the Devil's bathroom' (Sastrow's Life 1, 11) means the height of distress. Popular legend often speaks of *devil's baths* (see Suppl.).

As in that passage of Wernher's Maria (p. 1006) which describes the Devil as *chained* in hell, so through the Mid. Ages in general he seems to have been imagined as lying bound till the dawn of the Judgment-day; then he will get loose, and appear in company with Antichrist. His *liberation from bonds* therefore marks also the time of general confusion and the world's destruction. One popular tradition makes him lie *tightly bound* under the table at which two virgins (evidently norns) are spinning, Deut. sag. no. 9. In other tales a *noose of bast* is slipt over his head, which like the chained wolf he is unable to break, and in that state is mauled on the anvil *with a hammer*, which leaves him lamed (Mährische sagen, Brünn 1817, pp. 69. 72. 123); still better known is the story of the blacksmith, who gets him to creep through the key-hole into a sack, and then *hammers him to pieces*. I hold these pictures to be heathenish and Eddic (see p. 244); as *Prometheus* is chained, so *Ahriman* lies fettered for 1000 years, so *Loki* is bound; not only in Germany, but in Scandinavia the expression 'the *Devil is loose*,' Nethl. 'de duivel is los,' has been handed down through many hundreds of years in the people's mouth.[1] With this we must connect that of *fire* breaking loose (pp. 245. 602), and of rubbing fire out of wood to break the devil's strength (pp. 606-7). What there is at the bottom of another saying, 'The *Devil's dead*, and any one can get to heaven un-

[1] Swed. 'nu är Fan lös,' Hallman's Skrifter, Stockh. 1820, p. 224.

hindered' (Meinert's Kuhländchen 215), I do not rightly know; it can hardly mean the devil's defeat in the christian sense. The Mære von der wîbe list 368 already has a protestation 'durch des *tiuvels tôt.*' I incline to identify it with the exclamation quoted p. 453n., 'the king is dead!' namely of the dwarfs or elves.[1] The Renner 17982 says: 'wæren die *teufel tôt*, münche und pfaffen kæmen in nôt,' be in a bad way (see Suppl.).

To Wuotan, as the war-loving god, were imputed the *setting up* and *sowing* of strife and enmity (p. 145 n.). So Ahriman *sows* discord, Death *sows* his seed (p. 848), and Werre or Discordia hers (p. 273-4 n.). Shall we set it all down to the sowing of the devil's tares in Matth. 13, 39, or allow to the notion a more universal character? 'Sathanas *seminavit semen* suum,' Böhmer's Fontes 1, 47. 'den *sâmen* kan der tiuvel geben,' Freid. 67, 25. 'des tiefels *sâme*,' Walth. 31, 34. 'der tievel hât *gesæt* den sînen sâmen in diu lant,' Ms. 2, 111ª. 'warp de duvel sin *sat* dar in,' Detm. 2, 217.

It is remarkable that in Beow. 348 seq. the devil is called *gâstbona*, soul-killer, and 3485 *bona*, shooting with fiery bow; as indeed we find in Mod. German 'the *murderer* from the first' (Sieben ehen p. 394), 'the cruel *hangman of souls*' (in Erasm. Francisci); conf. the Serv. stari krvnik (p. 21). To him, as well as to Death, are ascribed *bands, ropes, bridle* and *steed*: 'diufeles *gi-benti*,' O. i. 10, 22. 'mit des tievels *bande geseilet*,' tied, Karl 33ª. 'der tievel hât mich *gestricket*,' snared, 17ª. 'in des tivels *zoumheften* (bridle-fastenings) sitzen,' Tod. gehugde 782. 'an des tiuvels *sîln*,' cords, Renner 21232; '*bridles* and *saddles* the devil's *horse*' 14429. 'tiuvels *seil*,' MsH. 3, 218.

To deepen the impression of something horrible, we still say, the very Devil would shudder and shrink at it, used as he is to horrors. As early as the 12th cent., it is said (Diut. 3, 59) of

[1] In many other cases it is difficult or impossible to trace the origin of the Devil's connexion with certain superstitious beliefs and modes of speech. People say: when the shaft is out of your hand, it belongs to the *devil* (he can steer it to where it will do mischief). Who runs behind himself (not so fast as he could), runs into the *devil's* arms, makes the *devil's* bed, Superst. I, 604. 659. Idleness is the *devil's* lounge, Nethl. luiheid is duivels *oorkussen* (pillow). Take the plough off the drag, or the *devil sleeps* under it, ib. 819. When you can't find a thing, the *devil* holds his hand or tail over it 256. The devil's *plough* and *cushion* appear already in Renner 15597. 15938. 'rîchtuom ist des tivels *wetzestein*,' Welsch. gast 125ᵇ. 'des tiuvels *dorn*,' Renner 1748. What does 'des *tiuvels zite* liden' (Walth. 107, 28) mean? his festivals? zîte (pl.), OHG. zîtî, ON. tîðir, festa.

monsters with flashing teeth: 'swenne si si lâzent plecchen, sô mahten sie *ioch* (eke) *den tiufel screcchen.*' And MsH. 3, 293ᵃ: 'sô luog ich hervür, ich möht *den tiuvel ûz der helle erschrecken,* swenne ich den mînen kolben ûf enbür' (see Suppl.).

Our common folk, when the disagreeable is suddenly brought forward, or is bound to befall them, are apt, in outcry or curse, to bring in the Devil or some baneful being that does duty for him: 'has the *devil* brought you here again?' Platers leben p. 77. 'whence brings him the *devil?*' 'hât dich der *tiuvel* har getragen!' Meyer and Mooyer 48ᵃ; 'hât dich der *tiuvel* alsô balde (so soon) getragen har?' 27ᵇ. 'der *tiuvel* hât in dar getragen,' Reinh. 1544. 'der *tiuvel* brâht in hiure her,' Gute frau 783. So in M. Nethl.: 'galghenere, die *lede duvel* bracht u here,' Ferg. 4735; 'die *lede duvel* droech u hier' 520. 'deable li ont amené,' Ren. 5051. 8171. 'dise hât der *tiuvel* gesendet in mîn lant,' Bit. 10ᵇ. 'der *tievel* sande mich an die stat,' Reinh. 311. 551. 'sus (so) kam er her gerüeret, als den der *tiuvel* füeret,' Trist. 6855. 'quis te *maleficus* hic adduxit?' Vita Joh. Gorziensis, before 984, in Mabillon's Ann. Bened. sec. 5, p. 401. 'does the *ritt* (pestis) bring you here now?' H. Sachs iv. 3, 5ᵇ; equivalent to the Westphalian 'wo förd di de *süke* her?' for diseases were looked upon as demonic beings. But what means that in Schmid's Schwäb. wtb. 544, 'has the *zauch* brought you back already?' I suppose, the hellish hound (tyke, OHG. zôha, bitch). Westph. 'fört juw de *kiwitt* (peewit) nu weer her?' instead of the more usual *cuckoo, vulture,* which, like the peewit, are magical birds. 'hât mich der *guckguck* hergebracht,' Grobianus 97ᵃ. And curses go through the same variations: 'daz dich der *tiuvel* hin füere!' Sîfrit 74, 2. 'var du dem *tiuvel* in die hant!' Reinh. 952. 'le *diable* t'emporte!' 'the *geier* (vulture) take you!' Gryphius 746. 'the *cuckoo* and *his clerk* fetch him!' Dan. 'var *satan* i vold!' 'die *leide ride* (mala pestis) müeze in vellen!' Karlmeinet, Meusebach 162. In the same way are to be judged the formulas about becoming and being the *devil's,* i.e. falling due to him, where again *cuckoo, vulture* and the rest can be substituted. A *devil's carl, devil's child, des tuvelis kint,* Rol. 2, 31 mean those taken possession of by him: curiously Lamprecht makes Porus exclaim 4452: dirre *tubilis* Alexander stellet michel 'wunder,' this hero is bold as the devil.

These quotations will not appear superfluous, if we will observe that they fit themselves to the Devil chiefly in those respects in which he is a product of heathen god-notions. As we hear it said just as much: 'what (ill) *weather* sends you here? what *tempest* (or *thunderstorm*) has brought you this way? what, has the *hail* beaten you here too? where does the *hail* beat you from?' in Simplic. 5, 2, "I'll be the *weather's* if . . .,' 'I'll be *thunder's* first!'[1] and even 'where does *the Lord* send you here again from?'; can anything be plainer, than that such phrases properly refer to the heathen *Donar*, lord of the weather, consequently that by the *Devil* afterwards put in his place we are to understand *him?* Or we may, if we please, summon up some storm-breeding *giant*, a Bläster, Väder or Fasolt (pp. 549. 630). We know that *thunderbolts* are also *devil's fingers* (p. 179).—And here some other points can be made good. Donar had a red beard, and our proverb runs: *red of beard*, devil's weird, 'rode baert duivels aert (= kind).' We good-naturedly pity in the words *poor devil;* in the 17th cent. they still said *poor thunder*, Weise's Drei erzn. pp. 14. 335; and *thunder's child* is synonymous with *devil's child*, ibid. 285. 425. The author of Simplicissimus writes both *teufelsgeld* p. 480, and *donnersgeld* p. 481, in the sense of accursed pelf. The curse 'zum *donner*' still means exactly the same as 'zum *teufel*'; and our 'fahr zum *teufel!*' answers in effect to the ON. 'far til *Oðins! Oðinn* eigi þic!' as well as to 'þik hafi *gramir, iötnar,*' p. 991, and to 'dat die de *Hamer!* Hamer sla!' p. 181. To the benediction '*Gott* walt's (God guide it)!' corresponds in the mouth of the vulgar the curse 'des walte der *teufel!* der *donner!*' Nor be it forgotten, that in exclamations and curses, of no matter what language, names of old gods get hardened and fixed; conf. p. 783-4, and Gramm. 3, 297 (see Suppl.).

Again, the Devil stands connected, not only with the gods of heathenism, but with its dæmons, its spirits; and a good deal of what was ascertained in ch. XVII. will apply to him. Thus he is called the *wicht*, the *bösewicht*, the *hellewicht* (p. 441) in the harshest sense; the *alp*, whose spell binds men, may stand for

[1] 'Ik sen donners!' Hansen's Geizhals p. 120. In Pruss. Natangen, Pikullis (p. 672, surely not akin to Picken p. 176?) takes the place of it: 'hat mich heute der *Pakulls* gedragen?' Firmenich's Völkerst. 1, 108.

him. Like elves he has the power of appearing, disappearing, and transforming himself, only the more sportful mischief of these sprites becomes grim earnest when applied to him. Like the alp, the Devil or vâlant is said to *ride* men, p. 464: in a poem of Heinr. von Müglein (Mus. 2, 196) God destines him to *ride* a wicked woman 'over hill and dale.' It is a remarkable thing, that the notions of wind, wight, thing, and no less those of devil and vâlant, are used to *strengthen a negative*, Gramm. 3, 734-6 (see Suppl.).[1] Now, as the word *tropf* (drop, ibid. 730) was used in the same sense, it explains how the expressions 'armer *tropf* (poor wretch, fool), armer *wicht*, armer *teufel*' all came to have one meaning. We either attribute to spirits and the Devil the swiftness of wind, of the Wild Host rushing in storm, or we imagine the wind itself a spirit and devil (p. 999); hence the following are synonymous turns of speech: 'sam sie der *tievel* vuorte,' as though the d. carried her, Rab. 749. Dietr. 8854, and 'as if the *wind* drove her,' 'she rushed past me like the *zauch* (tyke, p. 1013),' Schmid's Schwäb. wtb. 544.

That morbid imbecile condition of one whom the elves are said to have touched (p. 461) is undoubtedly analogous to *possession* by devils. The difference lies in this, that the Heathen view makes the spirits operate purely from without, while in Jewish, Oriental and Christian doctrine the devils take up their abode in a man's body, and for the abnormal condition to cease, they must be formally cast out. An actual incarnation took place (p. 338), and we speak of devils *incarnate*. Saul is possessed by the evil spirit. When Nalas had defiled himself, the demon Kalis entered into him, but retired at length, and passed into a tree (Bopp's Nalas pp. 234. 267. 196-8). Even our early Mid. Ages furnish examples: Carl, son of king Ludwig, was a demoniac (Pertz 1,

[1] Nib. 1682: 'ich bringe iu den *tiuvel*' means I bring you none at all, as we say 'the devil a bit,' etc. But also the simple indefinite pronoun is intensified by the addition of devil: '*welcher teufel?*' who? [quisnam, *τίς ποτε*] Phil. v. Sittew. 1, 30. 'besehen, *welchen tiuvel* sie mit im wellen ane-vâhen,' see what d. they will do with him, Morolt 2650. 'zuo *welchem tiuvel* bin ich geschart?' Bit. 7766. 'von *welchem tiuvel* si sint komen?' Dietr. 81ᵇ. '*welchen tiuvel* hæte ein wîp an dir ersehen?' = who in the world, Hartm. erst. büchl. 818. Cries of surprise: '*was teufel*,' what (the) devil, Dan. 'hvad fanden' (intens. 'hvad i fandens skind og been,' skin and bone), 'drink then *you and the devil!*' (Schlampampe p. 17) are still common among the people. The meaning of the last is 'you and whoever it may be'; but the combination is also a counterpart of the 'God and I' explained on p. 16. 'daz weiz *er und der tiuvel* wol,' Helbl. 7, 125. Curiously in Renner 1745: 'dem *tiuvel* von êrst und darnâch *Gote*,' the d. first, and then God.

495).[1] For elves to steal men's children, and put their own changelings in their place, is heathenish (p. 468); for the Devil to lie hid in the changeling, is not (Zeno 58 seq.). Again, the *devil-possessed* are like those houses and tenements where racketing sprites have made themselves fixtures (pp. 514. 892).[2] An early instance of this is that Grendel in Beowulf, who disturbs the royal hall by his nightly visits. For 'possessed' (arreptitius, daemoniacus), having the devil in one's body, the OHG. has the following terms: *firnoman*, taken up, O. iii. 14, 107 (MHG. 'vil gar *vernomen* ich dô lac,' I lay insensible, Fragm. 46[b]); 'ther diufal *ist iru inne*,' O. iii. 10, 12; 'gramon *in-giwitun*,' p. 991 (O. Fr. 'maus esperis li est *el cors entrés*,' Garin p. 280); *tiuvolwinnîc, tiuvolwinnanti*, Gl. mons. 337. 391. Doc. 239, as well as *tiuvolsioh*, AS. *deofolseoc* (-sick); in O. iii. 14, 63 'thie mit diufele *wunnun*,' who had to contend with the devil; and that is the meaning of H. Sachs's 'wütig und *winnig*' 1, 481[b]. iv. 3, 16[a]. In the 13th cent. our 'possessed' was already a current phrase: '*besaz* sie der vâlant,' Uolrich 1510. 'nu var hin, daz hiute der tievel *ûz dir kal!*' holla out of thee, Ben. 440. 'der tiuvel var im *in den munt!*' pop into his mouth, Reinh. 1642. 'var du dem tievel *in die hant!*' 852. 'der tiuvel var dir *in den balc!*' into thy skin, Morolt 1210. 'der tufil muez im *durch daz herze* varn!' Grundr. 314. 'tûsent tiuvel *ûz dir bellen!*' bark, MsH. 3, 259[b] (we still say, 'an evil spirit spoke *out of him*'). 'ich wæn der tiuvel *ûz beiden lüge*,' Reinh. 309. 520 (see Suppl.).

The words last quoted bring us to his mendacity. The Scripture calls him a 'father of lies'; 'tievellîchen *gelogen*,' lied like

[1] Vita S. Godehardi (d. 1038): In civitate Ratisbona quodam tempore sanctus Godehardus morabatur, pro negotio forsan sui monasterii; ubi quaedam *obsessa a daemonio* ad eum ducebatur, ut sanaretur ab eo. Quam vir Dei inspiciens ait: 'responde mihi, immunde spiritus, ad ea quae a te quaero. quid hic agis in creatura Dei?' At *daemon* ait: 'pleno jure est anima ipsius mea, quod *incantatrix* est, et per eam multas animas lucratus sum.' Et ait vir sanctus: 'quare propter *incantationem* tua est?' Et *daemon* ait: 'nonne legisti quia Dominus *pithones, divinos* et *incantatores* jussit exterminari? quid enim tales faciunt, nisi quod mihi meisque principibus deserviunt? *idololatrae* enim sunt, vix enim aliquos tanto jure possidere possumus quanto hujusmodi vitiis irretitos; numquid ignoras quod inter mille *incantatrices* aut *divinos* vix una invenitur quae vel qui velit hoc vitium confiteri? sic enim ora ipsorum claudimus, ut de talibus loqui nihil valeant quovis modo.' The bishop casts out the demon. Et sic spiritus ille malignus abscessit, et mulier ut mortua cecidit. Sed vir sanctus subito eam erexit, erecta vero publice vitium *incantationis*, quod dudum *multoties perfecerat*, cum lacrymis est confessa, quam et vir sanctus solvit.

[2] A deserted castle possessed by the devil, Greg. Mag. dial. 3, 4. Like tormenting sprites, the devil *throws stones*, conf. Greg. Tur. vitae patr. 1, vita Heimeradi cap. 21.

a devil, says Nib. 2167, 3. What if the corrupt Dan. 'Locke löjemand, lovmand' p. 246 had an allusion to lyve (mentiri) pret. löi, or if a kinship could even be established between lüge (mendacium) and logi (blaze, blast)? Wind means to us a false allegation, windbag a humbug, liar. A Dan. proverb says: 'lögn er et skadeligt uveir' (mendacium est tempestas nociva), Saxo Gram., ed. Müll. p. 200. A liar is also a mocker, hence 'des tievels *spot*,' Nib. 2182, 2. 'daz sînen *spot* der tuvel mit den sînen habe,' Gr. Rud. 1, 9. In Mod. Nethl. 'de vyand heeft my beet gehad,' hostis me ludibrio habuit (see Suppl.).

Grendel's diabolic nature resembles that of bloodthirsty water-sprites (p. 494); he lives too in *moors* and *fens*, and comes up at night to haunt sleeping mortals: 'com of môre gangan,' Beow. 1413; he flies 'under fen-hleoðu' 1632. He *drinks* men's *blood* out of their veins 1478, like vampires whose lips are moist with fresh blood. An ON. saga has a similar demon, called *Grîmr ægir* because he can walk in water as on land, he spits fire and poison, *sucks* the *blood* out of man and beast (Fornald. sög. 3, 241-2).

About when in the Mid. Ages did the idea spring up of formal *covenants* and *treaties* which the Devil concludes with men? To the unfortunate, the desperate, he promises temporal blessings for a number of years, but bargains for their souls at the expiration of the term, and insists on a written bond usually signed with the men's blood. This sounds not heathen, but rather as if invented after the Roman mode of writing had become general in Europe. The Norse devil [1] tries to strike profitable bargains too, but never in writing. The most famous and variously told [2] tale is that of the vicedominus Theophilus. It is known that Gerbert, afterwards pope Silvester 2 (d. 1003), was said to have

[1] The iðtunn p. 547. The transaction is called a *purchase*.

[2] The event itself is placed at the beginn. of the 6th cent.; the oldest work I know of, that relates it, is Hroswitha's poem Lapsus et conversio Theophili vicedomini (Opp. ed. Schurzfleisch pp. 132–145), of the latter half of the 10th cent. Not long after comes the mention of it by Fulbertus Carnotensis (d. 1029), Opp. Paris 1608, p. 136. A Historia Theophili metrica is attrib. to Marbod (d. 1123), and stands in his Works (ed. Beaugendre pp. 1507–16). The story occurs in Hartmann's poem (12th cent.) Von dem gelouben, ll. 1927–98. Berceo (d. 1268) merely alludes to it in Milagros de Maria str. 276, and in Duelo de Maria str. 194; so does a MHG. poet, Altd. bl. 1, 79. Widest diffusion given it by Vincentius Bellovac. in Spec. hist. 22, 69. Dramatized by Rutebeuf (Legrand 1, 333; now publ. in Jubinal's ed. 2, 79–105, and Michel's Théâtre Franç. 136–156 with notes on its liter. history); and aft. by a Low Germ. poet (Bruns p. 389).

sold himself to the devil (Anon. Leobiens. in Pez 1, 763). In the Annolied str. 46-7 is the story of one Volprecht, who gives himself to the devil; another in Ottocar cap. 335. In most legends of this kind the Devil misses his prey after all, and is made to give up the damning document. The man may have denied God, but has never renounced the heavenly Virgin, so she lends a helping hand. In a Swiss folktale the devil bargains that the contracting party shall never *say* the gospel of John any more (de Hänseler uf der lälle ummedrüllen), but he comes to grief nevertheless, for the poor shepherd lad *whistles* it from beginning to end. Another time the Evil one is promised payment of the sum advanced, at the falling of the leaf; but when at fall-time he presents himself, and presses the bargain, he is shown trees in the church, that were cut with the leaves on (Kinderm. no. 148), or else firs and pines (Woycicki's Klechdy 1, 149). On the whole there are ways more than one, to cheat the poor devil of his legal due. One who has bound himself to him, but who for seven years long *neither washes nor combs*, is rid of him again; or he need only have demanded that the devil shall make a sapling grow, a thing beyond his power (Superst. I, no. 626). The former is the story of Bearskin (Simplic. 3, 896. Kinderm. no. 101), and of Brother Sooty (KM. no. 100): Bearskin has to remain seven years in the devil's service, wrapt in a *bear's hide* by way of cloak, i.e. leading a lazy inactive life (conf. p. 1010, the *bearskin* offered to the devil). Almost every case contains this stipulation of *seven years* to be spent in his service and lore.[1]

What has a more direct bearing on our investigation is, that some of the ON. legends speak of a *gefaz Oðni* (giving oneself to O.) exactly as the christian Mid. Ages do of writing or vowing oneself into the *Devil's* hands. Indeed 'gefa' seems the most genuine expression, because the free man, who of his own accord enters into service and bondage, gives, yields himself: giafþræl, servus dedititius (RA. 327); 'begeben' is used in MHG. of maidens giving themselves up to the church. The Olaf Tryggvas. saga tells how king Eirîkr of Sweden gave himself to

[1] Mone's Anz. 5, 176. In a MHG. poem (Fragm. 20[a]) an old man is addressed: 'dîn hundert jâr sint nu komen zuo *siben jâren* ûz erwegen, daz dîn der *tiwfel* müeze pflegen.'

Oðinn (at hann *gafse Oðni*) in return for his *lending him victory for ten years long*, Fornm. sög. 5, 250 and 10, 283; and this last account calls Oddiner *a devil* (so in 10, 303 a '*diöfull* með âsiônu *Oðins*,' looking like O.). That the ancient god of victory here sinks into the Enemy of good, is, from the legend's point of view, quite in order. The only question is, whether the loan for ten years, and after that, the king's forfeiture to the god, were taken over from christian stories of the devil, or had their ground in heathen opinion itself. In the latter case it may have been these heathen traditions that first suggested to christians the wild fiction of a league with the devil. It is true the Norse authorities say nothing about a bond signed in blood, nor about fetching away upon forfeiture (see Suppl.).

How to *call to the Devil*, when one wishes to have dealings with him, we learn from a Dan. superstition (no. 148): Walk three times round the church, and the third time stand still in front of the church-door, and cry 'come out!' or whistle to him through the keyhole. That is exactly how spirits of the dead are summoned up (Superst. G, line 206 seq.). The *kiss*, by which homage was rendered to the devil, does not occur till we come to heretics and the later witches; it seems either copied from the secular homagium, or a parody of the christian kiss of peace during Adoration.

The devil in some stories, who *brings money* or *corn* to his friends and favourites, approximates to good-natured homesprites or elves; and in such cases nothing is said about a bond or about abjuring God. He is usually seen as a fiery *dragon* rushing through the air and into chimneys (Superst. I, nos. 6. 253. 520-2-3. 858). The Esthonians say, red streaks of cloud shew the dragon is flying out, the dark that he is returning with booty (Superst. M, no. 102); so the Lithuanians about the red *alb* and the blue (N, no. 1). In Lausitz they tell of a *corn-dragon* (žitny smij) who fills his friend's thrashing floor, a *milk-dragon* (mlokowy smij) who purveys for the goodwife's dairy, and a *penny-dragon* (penežny smij) who brings wealth. The way to get hold of such a one is the following: you find a threepenny piece lying somewhere to-day; if you pick it up, there'll be a sixpenny piece in the same place to-morrow, and so the value of what you find will keep rising till you come to a dollar. If you are so greedy as to

take the dollar too, you get the *dragon* into your house. He demands respectful treatment and good fare (like a homesprite); if goodman or goodwife neglect it, he sets the house on fire over their heads. The only way to get rid of him is to sell the dollar, but below its price, and so that the buyer is aware and silently consents.[1] It is the same with the alraun and the gallows-mannikin (p. 513 n.). If given away, these *breeding-dollars* always come back (Superst. I, no. 781).

But nowhere does the *Devil* savour so much of heathenism as where he has stept into the place of the old *giant* (pp. 999. 1005. 1023-4). Both of them the thunder-god pursues with his hammer; as the sleeping giant is struck by Thôr's miölnir, so is the devil by the blacksmith's hammer (p. 1011);[2] the *devil* with three golden hairs (KM. no. 29) has already been likened to the ON. *Ugarthilocus* (p. 244). And more especially is he giant-like, where the people credit him with stupendous feats of *building* and *stone-throwing*: here he puts on completely the burly, wrathful, spiteful and loutish nature of the iötunn (pp. 534. 543–54); *stupid* devil is used like *stupid* giant (p. 528). The building of christian churches is hateful to him, and he tries to reduce them to ruins; but his schemes are sure to be foiled by some higher power or by the superior craft of man. Like the giant, he often shews himself a skilful architect, and undertakes to build a castle, bridge or church, only bargaining for the soul of him who shall first set foot in the new building.

What was once told of the giant is now told of the devil, but a harsher crueller motive usually takes the place of milder ones. The giant in building has commonly some sociable neighbourly purpose (pp. 535–54), the devil wishes merely to do mischief and entrap souls. Norway has many legends of *giant's bridges*. The *jutul* loves a huldra on the other side of the water; to be able to visit her dryshod, he sets about building a bridge, but the rising sun hinders its completion (Faye 15. 16). Another time two jutuls undertake the work to facilitate their mutual visits. Over

[1] Lausitz. monatsschr. 1797, p. 755–6. Conf. the Flem. *oorem*, Haupt's Zeitschr. 7, 532.

[2] It is no contradiction, that in other stories the Devil has the opposite part of *Donar* with his hammer and bolt handed over to him, or again that of the *smith*, the limping Hephæstus. A preacher of the 14th cent. (Leyser 77, 10) speaks of the evil devil's *blow-bellows*.

the Main too the *giants* propose to build a bridge (p. 547), though the motive is no longer told. When the *Devil* builds the bridge, he is either under compulsion from men (Thiele 1, 18), or is hunting for a soul (Deut. sag. nos. 185. 336); but he has to put up with the *cock* or *chamois* which is purposely made to *run first across the new bridge*.[1] A Swiss shepherd in a narrow glen, finding he could not drive his flock over the brook, wished the devil would bridge it over for him; instantly the fiend appeared, and offered to do the work on condition that the first thing that crossed should be his: it was a goat that led the way (Tobler 214ª). In one French story, having reserved for himself every thirteenth creature that should cross the bridge, he has already clutched numbers of men and beasts, when a holy man, being a thirteenth, confronts and conquers him (Mém. de l'acad. celt. 5, 384).[2] The *church-building devil* also having bargained for the soul of the first that should enter, they make a wolf scamper through the door (Deut. sag. no. 186); he in a rage flies up through the roof, and leaves a gap that no mason can fill up (the last incident is in nos. 181-2). On mountains he builds *mills*, and destroys them again (nos. 183. 195).[3] His *wager* with the architect of Cologne cathedral is remarkable: that he will lead a rivulet from Treves to Cologne,[4] before the other can finish his church (no. 204). In the same way a giantess *wagers* to throw a stone bridge over a strait of the sea, before St. Olaf shall have brought his church-building to an end; but the bridge was not half done, when the bells pealed out from the sacred pile. She in vexation hurled the stones she was building with at the church-tower, but never once could she hit it; then she tore off one of her legs, and flung it at the steeple. Some accounts say she knocked it down, others that she missed; the leg fell in a bog,

[1] Before entering a new house, it is safest to let a cat or dog run in first, Superst. I, 499.

[2] The devil is shut up in a tower, where he may get out at the top, but only by mounting one stair a day, and there being 365 of them, the journey takes him a whole year.

[3] A mountain called *Teufelsmulin* at the source of the rivulet Alp is ment. in Dumbek's Geogr. pagor. p. 79; and a mill *Duvelmolen* near Soest in Seibertz 1, 622. Bechst. Franken p. 107. Baader's Bad. sag. no. 487.

[4] By this was meant the old Roman aqueduct (Gelenius de admir. Col. p. 254), of which an equally fabulous account stands in the Annolied 510: 'Triere was ein burg alt, si zierte Rômâre gewalt, dannin man undir der erdin den wîn santi verre, mit steinin rinnin, den hêrrin al ci minnin, di ci Colne wârin sedilhalt.'

which is still named Giögraputten (Faye p. 119). *Bell-ringing* is hated by dwarfs (p. 459), giants (Faye p. 7. 17. Thiele 1, 42), and devils,[1] who keep retiring before it: these legends all signalize the triumph of Christianity. Out of some churches the devil drags the bells away (Deut. sag. 202): at first he does not know what the new structure is for, and is pacified by evasive answers (no. 181); but when it stands complete, he tries to batter it down with stones. *Devil's stones* are either those he has dropt as he bore them through the air for building, or those he carried up the hills when undoing some work he had begun, or those he has thrown at a church (nos. 196-8-9. 200. 477). Scandinavian stories of stones hurled by the *giant race* at the first christian church are in Thiele 2, 20. 126-7. Faye pp. 16. 18; a Shetland one in Hilbert p. 433. Frequently such fragments of rock have the fingers of the devil's hands imprinted on them; a stone on which he has slept shews the mark of his ear, Deut. sag. 191. At Limburg near Türkheim in the Palatinate is a stone, which the Evil one was bringing to fling at the church; but being only a young devil, he tired of the heavy load, and lay down to sleep on it; his figure printed itself on the rock, and he overslept the time during which the throw ought to have been made. In the vale of Durbach, on a hill of the Stollenwald, stand eleven large stones; the twelfth and largest one the devil was carrying off, to batter down the Wendels-kirk with; he had got across the Rappenloch with it, and halfway up the Schiehald, when he laid his burden down, and had a rest. But after that he could no longer lift the heavy stone, its pointed end stuck fast in the mountain, and you may still see the round hole made in it by the devil's shoulder-bone. So the church was spared, but the devil still drives about the place now and then with six he-goats, and at midnight you hear the crack of his whip (Mone's Anz. 3, 91).—*Devil's Dikes*[2] are explained by the people as built by the Devil to mark the boundary of his kingdom (Deut. sag. 188); he is imagined then as the ruler of a neighbouring and hostile kingdom (a Iötunheimr), nay, as disputing with God the possession

[1] In the Mid. Ages bells were rung to keep off lightning (the heathen Donar) and the devil.

[2] *Dike* has the double sense of ditch and earth-wall, both being made by *digging*; hence also any wall. The Germ. *graben*, ditch, has in some old words the meaning of wall.— TRANS.

of the earth, till at last they agree to divide it, and the Devil builds the boundary-wall (no. 189). But these *devil's walls* and *devil's ditches* alike gather additional significance for us. The people call the Roman fortifications in Bavaria, Swabia, Franconia and the Wetterau, not only devil's walls, but *pfalgraben, pohlgraben, pfahltöbel* (-mounds), and even simply *pfal*, pl. *pfäle*, which is explained as our pfahl, pale or stake, a word early borrowed from Lat. pālus (Graff 3, 331). But these walls have no stakes in them, only stones and bricks; it seems more correct to trace the name to our old friend *Phol;* the form *Wulsgraben*, which occurs in the Wetterau (Dieffenb. Wett. p. 142) and is merely a softened pronunciation of *Phulsgraben*, is clearly in favour of it; and we have seen several instances in which *Phol, Pfal, Pful* interchange. What is more, in various places the devil's wall is also called the *schweingraben* (swinedike), and a remarkable Swabian folktale says it was scratched up and rooted up out of the ground in the night by a *chanticleer* and a *hog*.[1] Does not that unmistakably point to *pfol* the boar (p. 996)? I have scarcely a doubt that popular tradition and local names will yield some further confirmations. On this devil's wall the devil is said to come driving on Christmas night (Abh. der Münchn. acad. 1, 23, conf. 38), as nearly all the heathen gods are astir from then to Twelfthday. Nor ought we to overlook, that in such districts we also come across *teufelsgraben, dükersgraben*, e.g. in Lower Hesse, where Roman walls never came: any rocks and walls that strike the eye are traced back by popular imagination either to giants and devils, or to Romans (p. 85) and Hellenes (p. 534). One piece of rock the Devil puts on as a hat, to shew his enormous strength; then comes the Saviour, and slips the same on his little finger (Deut. sag. no. 205), just as Thôrr keeps outdoing the giant (p. 545): doubtless a fiction of primitive times. But when footprints of the Saviour and the Devil are pointed out on high cliffs, from which the tempter shewed and offered to his Lord the landscape invitingly spread out below (DS. 184. 192), that seems to be founded on the Bible.[2] Pro-

[1] Prescher's Hist. bl., Stuttg. 1818, p. 67. Where the wall runs over the Kochersberg to the R. Murr, the country people all call it schweingraben.

[2] Ulrichs in his Journey through Greece 1, 44 gives the story of a devil's stone (logári) from which the Devil preached (λόγος).

jecting crags are called *devil's pulpits* (Stald. 2, 85, känzeli, fluhkanzel), whence he is said to have preached to the assembled people (DS. 190. Bechst. 3, 222); perhaps in olden times a heathen priest stood there, or a divine image? or are they simply ancient *Woden's hills?* The *devil's beds* may be placed by the side of the Brunhilde beds and the like (see Suppl.).

Here I will make room for a few detailed narratives. The Devil is represented as a masterful giant who will have his tithe and toll: sometimes he appropriates the *first* who crosses the bridge, at other times the *last*. So from the wheel of fortune (p. 868) he every year made the last pupil drop off,[1] and took him to himself. A Spanish legend has it, that there was a cave at Salamanca, where he constantly maintained seven scholars, on condition that when they had finished their studies, the seventh should pay the lawing. Once, when a set of students were taking their leave, and the last was ordered to stay, he pointed to his shadow, saying 'he is the last!' So the devil had to *take the shadow*, and the pupil escaping remained without a shadow all his life. Jamieson gives the details of a Scotch superstition: 'Losing one's shadow arrives to such as are studying the art of necromancy. When a class of students have made a certain progress in their mystic studies, they are obliged to run through a subterraneous hall, where the devil literally catches *the hindmost* in the race, unless he crosses the hall so speedily that the Arch-enemy can only *apprehend his shadow*. In the latter case the person of the sage never after throws any shade, and those who have thus lost their shadow always prove the best magicians.' The devil is cheated of his prey, and has to put up with the bare shadow, like the dishonest man in the sham penance (RA. 678)[2] (see Suppl.).

That significant Norrland story of the *giant* Wind and Weather (p. 548), whose connexion with the *Devil* is placed beyond a doubt by the observations on pp. 1000-14, is related by Thiele 1, 45 in the following shape. Esbern Snare wished to build Kallundborg church, but his means not sufficing, a *trold*

[1] 'Da nu einer ins teufels *reder* sesse, oder gar in sumpf gefallen were, oder des tods schwaden hette ihn ergriffen,' Mathesius 140b.

[2] Chamisso's Peter Schlemihl rests, no doubt, on a legend substantially the same. Of the homesprite Vollmar, on the contrary, nothing was seen but the shadow, p. 509.

offered his assistance on condition that, when the church was finished, Esbern should be able to tell the trold's name, or else forfeit to him his heart and eyes. The work went rapidly forward, and only half a pillar was wanting, when Esbern began to be alarmed, because he knew not yet the trold's name. Anxious and sad he wandered in the fields, when at the top of a rock he heard the voice of a trold-wife: 'hush, hush, my child, to-morrow comes thy father *Fin* bringing thee Esbern Snare's heart and eyes to play with.' Esbern came home comforted; he stept into the church, the trold was just bringing up the stone shaft that was still wanting, when Esbern hailed him by the name of *Fin!* In a rage the trold shot up into the air with the half-pillar: that is why the church stands on three pillars and a half only. *Finnr* is the name of a dwarf in the Edda.—The German legend on p. 549 is told thus in Lower Hesse: A peasant on the Ellenbach (by the Sandershäuser mt. near Cassel) had so much corn to gather in, that he knew not how to house it all: his barn was too small, and he had not the money to build a larger. As, thoughtful and anxious, he paced his fields, a *gray old mannikin* stept up to him, and asked the reason of his sadness. When the peasant had told him the plight he was in, *Graymannikin* smiled and said: 'a barn I would doubtless build for thee, so roomy that thou canst garner all thy crop therein, and *ere to-morrow's dawn* shall it stand ready in thy yard, if thou wilt make over to me *whatsoever hidden property thou ownest.*'[1] The peasant thought of treasures underground, which could do him no good till they were lifted, and he closed with the stranger's offer: not till he turned to leave did he notice a *cow's foot* and *horse's foot* peep out from under the gray coat. He went home, and told his wife what had happened to him in the field: 'my God! what hast thou done? I have a child unborn, and thou hast signed it away to the Evil one.' The moment it was dark, a tremendous din arose in the farmyard, carters, carpenters, masons working away together, the Devil as architect directing the whole business, which advanced with incredible speed: a few hours more, and the barn

[1] *Höttr* (hat, gray hat), i.e. *Oðinn* (p. 146), after giving Geirhildr his spittle to be the barm of the ale she was brewing (conf. p. 902), demands what is *between her and the vat*, viz. her unborn child, Fornald. sög. 2, 26. The *wilde walrabe* (p. 997) requires of the queen 'det du haver *under belte dit*,' DV. 1, 187. If only for this one incident, I hold the Hessian tale to be of heathen origin.

stood ready built, the roof was thatched, the walls filled up, only a square or two stood open in the gable. Then the cunning wife, dressed in her husband's clothes, crept across the yard to the henhouse, *clapt her hands*,[1] and mimicked the *crow of a cock*, and all the cocks set up a crowing one after the other. The evil spirits scuttled away with a great uproar, leaving but one gable-square of the new barn empty: one carter had just come up with a large stone drawn by four chestnuts, when the Devil caught him up and smashed him, cart and steeds and all, against the barn; his figure was printed on that same stone for a remembrance, and may be seen there now. The barn-gable no human hand has ever been able to close up; what was built in by day would always fall out again at night.[2] The hill where the *gray man* first appeared to the peasant is called *Teufelsberg*.—Not far from Römhild stand the Gleichberge, high basaltic hills, one of which has its top encircled by a double ring of stones irregularly piled. Here the Devil once carried a wall round the castle of a knight, having bargained for the hand of his lordship's daughter. But before daybreak the young lady's nurse slapped her *knees loudly with her hands*, the *cocks began to crow*, and the devil lost his bet. Exasperated he destroyed his own work, therefore you see only ruins of the wall. Another version of the story (Bechst. Franken p. 261) is, that the nurse, having overheard the compact, stole out at early morn with a dark lantern to the hen-roost; the cock, suddenly seeing the light, thought it was day, and *crowed with all his might*.[3]—A mill at Coslitz being badly off for water, the Devil undertook to provide it with plenty by daybreak, *before the cock should crow;* the miller in return bound himself to give up his handsome daughter. In one night therefore the devil had nearly finished cutting the conduit from the Elbe to Coslitz, when the miller repented, and, some say by imitating the cock's cry, others by knocking his leather apron, made the cock crow before his time, whereupon the devil departed in anger, and the trench remained unfinished, Mitth. des Sächs. vereins,

[1] Clapping of hands avails in enchantments. Wolfdietr. 1372 says of the heatheness Marpalie: 'sie *sluog ir hend ze samen*,' and immediately turned into a crow.

[2] In any church the hole at which the devil has flown out can never be closed.

[3] Same incident in a Thuringian story, Bechst. 3, 224.

Dresd. 1835. 1, 11.—At Geertsbergen in W. Flanders there goes a similar story of a *devil's barn* (duivelschuer), and here too the farmer is saved by the cunning of his wife: lang voor dat de haen gewoon is te kraeyen, sprong zy het bed uit, en liep naer buiten, waer zy een onnoemlyk getal werklieden bezig zag met de schuer op te maken, aen dewelke nog slechts een gedeelte van den zymuer ontbrak. Zy *plaetste haren mond tusschen hare handen,* en schreeuwde zoo schel als zy maer kon: '*koekeloren haen!*' en alle de hanen in de rondte lieten hun eerste morgengeschrei hooren. Het werkvolk was verdwenen, en de schuer stond er, doch met dien onvoltrokken gevel; men heft herhaelde malen beproefd het gat te stoppen: telkens komt Satan het's nachts openbreken, uit weerwraek dat de ziel van den boer hem zoo loos ontsnapt is.[1]

The Esthonians call a farm-servant who has charge of the barns and grains 'riegenkerl.' Once a riegenkerl sat casting metal buttons, when the *Devil* walked up to him, said good day, and asked, 'what are you doing there?' 'I am casting eyes.' 'Eyes? could you cast me a new pair?' 'Oh yes, but I've no more left just now.' 'But will you another time?' 'Yes, I can,' said the riegenkerl. 'When shall I come again?' 'When you please.' So the devil came next day to have eyes cast for him. The riegenkerl said, 'Do you want them large or small?' 'Very large indeed.' Then the man put plenty of lead over the fire to melt, and said, 'I can't put them in as you are, you must let me tie you down.' He told him to lie down on his back on the bench, took some stout cords, and bound him very tight. Then the devil asked, 'what name do you go by?' '*Issi* (self) is my name.' 'A good name that, I never heard a better.' By this time the lead was melted, and the devil opened his eyes wide, waiting for the new ones. 'Now for it!' said the riegenkerl, and poured the *hot lead into the devil's eyes;* the devil sprang up with the bench on his back, and ran away. He was running past some ploughmen in the fields, who asked him, 'who's done that to you?' He answered, '*issi* teggi' (self did it). The men laughed and said, 'self done, self have.' But he died of his new

[1] Kunst en letterblad, Ghent 1840. p. 7; and from it Wolf no. 187, who gives similar stories in no. 186 and note p. 686.

eyes, and nobody has ever seen the devil since.[1] In this tale the Devil is more a blundering giant than the malignant Foe of mankind; his blinding and the name Issi reminds us of Homer's Polyphemus and *Οὖτις*, as well as of the oriental Depêghöz (p. 554). In our nursery-tale (KM. 2, 481, conf. Altd. bl. 1, 122) the giant's eyes are scalded out with oil, and in Lith. the devil is called *aklatis*, the blind, blinded. When other Esthonian tales explain *thunder* by saying the devil is pursued by God, and fleeing for refuge to the rocks, is smitten down (Superst. M, 61. 64); here also God resembles the Scand. Thôrr, and the *Devil* a *iötunn* whom he slays (see Suppl.).

It is a vital part of the machinery of medieval poetry, for heroes to be *transported by the Devil through the air* from distant countries to their home, when there is urgent need of their presence there: some marriage is contemplated, that would rob them of wife or lover. Thus king Charles (in the Spagna, canto xxi) rides a devil, converted into a horse, from the East to France in *one night;* later legends make an angel appear to him instead, and shew him a strong horse, DS. no. 439. The angel visits the gentle Möringer in like distress (no. 523). But Henry the Lion and Gerhart (Caes. Heisterb. 8, 59) travel with the devil's aid. The mere fact that angel and devil can change places here, shews that no evil spirit was originally meant; it is no other than *Wuotan* carrying through the clouds his foster-son (p. 146); and so we get at the real meaning of the question, what devil brings you here? A devil carries a belated canon from Bayeux to Rome in time for pontifical mass; and by the same magic Klinsor and Ofterdingen get from Hungary to the Wartburg.

There is no surer test of the mythic element having a deep foundation, than its passing into the Beast-fable. The Esthonian tale of the man and the bear going halves in the cultivation and produce of a field (Reinh. cclxxxviii), which turns on the same distinction of upper and under growth that we saw at p. 715, is told in our KM. no. 189 of a peasant and the devil, and in this form we find it as early as Rabelais bk 4, cap. 45—47. Rückert's Poems p. 75 (Gödeke 2, 416) give it from an Arabian tradition, the source of which I should like to learn; while the Dan. story

[1] Rosenplänter's Beiträge, part 6, p. 61. The devil's being buried by beasts is not in point here.

in Thiele 4, 122 relates it of a peasant and a trold. The common folk in Normandy have to this day a legend of their Mont St. Michel, how Michael and the Devil disputed which could build the finer church. The devil builds one of stone, Michael constructs a handsomer one of ice; when that melts, they both agree to till the soil, the devil choosing the upper herbs, and Michael keeping what hides in the ground. In all these tales, the bear, giant, troll or devil is the party outwitted, like the giant who built the castle for the gods (see Suppl.).

Lastly, the old-heathen nature of the Devil is proved by animals and plants being named after him, as they are after gods and giants (p. 532). The libellula grandis, dragonfly, a delicate slender-limbed insect, is called both enchanted maid and *devil's horse, devil's bride, devil's nag,* Dan. *fandens ridehest;* in the I. of Mors a beetle, meloe proscarabaeus, *fannens riihejst* (Schade p. 215); in Switz. the libellula, *devil's needle, devil's hairpin,* and the caterpillar *devil's cat.*[1] In the vale of Rimella the black snail, *tiufulsnakke,* and a tiny black beetle *s' bözios ajo,* the evil one's mother, Albr. Schott pp. 275. 334, a counterpart to the Marienkäfer, p. 694, but also suggestive both of 'devil's needle' and of Loki's mother *Nâl,* p. 246; so that Dona-*nadel* (p. 490 n.) may be correct, as the name of an evil river-sprite. In Holland some herb, I know not which, is called *duivels naai-garen* (sewing yarn). The alcyonium digitatum or palmatum is *devil's hand,* manus diaboli, thief's hand, Engl. *devil's hand* or deadman's hand, Nethl. doode mans hand, oude mans hand, Fr. *main de diable,* main de ladre, de larron, conf. Forneotes folme, p. 240. Lycopodium clavatum, *devil's claw;* euphorbia, *devil's milk;* clematis vitalba, *devil's thread;* scabiosa succisa, *devil's bite,* Boh. *čert-kus;* adonis, *devil's eye;* convolvulus arvensis, *devil's gut,* etc., etc.[2] Probably the folktales of an earlier time knew the exact reasons of such names, conf. Superst. I, nos. 189. 190. 476. The thunderbolt, the elf-shot, was also called *devil's finger,* pp. 179. 187 (see Suppl.).

[1] Caterpillars, through shedding their skins, becoming pupæ, and gradually changing from creeping and dead-like creatures into flying ones, have something uncanny, ghostly in them.

[2] Hypericum perforatum, *devil's flight,* because it drives him away: 'dosten, harthun, weisse heid, thun dem teufel vieles leid.'

In such various ways has a Being who, taken altogether, was unknown to the heathen, pushed himself into the place of their gods, spirits and giants, and united in himself a number of similar or conflicting attributes. He resembles Wuotan as the grayman and the cloaked wild hunter, who rides and carries through the air; as sowing discord, playing dice, and taking into his service men that vow themselves to him. His red beard, his hammer and bolt recall Donar. Phol and Zio are connected with the storm-wind, and the former with devil's buildings. As for giants, their whole being has most things in common with that of the Devil.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

MAGIC.

Miracle (wundern) [1] is the salutary, *magic* (zaubern) the hurtful or unlawful, use of supernatural powers: miracle is divine, magic devilish; not till the gods were degraded and despised was magic imputed to them.[2] Beings midway betwixt them and man, sage giants, artful elves and dwarfs practise magic; only their skill seems more innate, stationary, not an acquired art. Man can heal or poison, by directing natural forces to good or to evil; sometimes he even shares the gift of miracle, but when he pushes the beneficent exercise of his powers to the supernatural point, he learns to conjure. Miracle is wrought by honest means, magic by unlawful; the one is geheuer (blessed, wholesome, p. 914), the other ungeheuer. At the same time the origin of all conjuring must be traced directly to the most sacred callings, which contained in themselves all the wisdom of heathendom, viz. religious worship and the art of song. Sacrificing and singing came to mean conjuring; the priest and the poet, confidants of the gods and participants of divine inspiration, stand next-door to the fortune-teller and magician (see Suppl.).

It is so with all nations, and was so with our ancestors: by the side of divine worship, practices of dark sorcery, by way of exception, not of contrast. The ancient Germans knew magic and magicians; on this foundation first do all the later fancies rest. And the belief was necessarily strengthened and complicated when, upon the introduction of christianity, all heathen

[1] I here use the verb *wundern* transitively (= to do wonders), in which sense its derivative *wunderer* meant a wonder-worker. Reinmar says, Ms. 2, 154^b: 'wol dem wunder, daz der wunderære *gewundert* hât an der vil süezen.' God is the true *wunderære*, Ms. 2, 171^b. Trist. 10013, who of all wonders hath control, Parz. 43, 9; mirabilis Deus, Helbl. 7, 12. But also a hero doing godlike deeds, e.g. Erek, earns the name of *wunderære;* in Etzels hofhaltung it is even applied, less fitly, to a savage devilish man, p. 943.

[2] And a human origin for the same reason, p. 384n. Snorri calls Oðinn 'forspâr, fiölkunnigr,' and makes him 'galdr qveða,' Yngl. saga cap. 4. 5. 7. Saxo Gram. p. 13 ascribes to him 'praestigia,' and curiously divides all magicians (mathematici; see Forcellini sub v.) into three kinds, viz. giants, magi and deities (p. 9); conf. his statements (p. 103) on Thor and Othin 'magicae artis imbuti.' So the Chronicon Erici (circ. 1288) represents Odin as 'incantator et magus.'

notions and practices were declared to be deceit and sinful delusion: the old gods fell back and changed into devils, and all that pertained to their worship into devilish jugglery. Presently there sprang up tales of the Evil one's immediate connexion with sorcery; and out of this proceeded the most incredible, most cruel jumbling up of imagination and reality. Magic tricks performed, and those merely imagined, so ran into one another, that they could no longer be distinguished either in punishing or even in perpetrating them.

Before proceeding with our inquiry, we have to examine the several terms that designated witchcraft in olden times. It seems worth noting, that several of the more general names have simply the sense of *doing* or *preparing*, and therefore mark an imperceptible lapse of right doing into wrong. The OHG. *karawan*, AS. *gearwian*, had only the meaning of facere, parare, praeparare, ornare, but the same word in ON. *göra* approximates to that of conjuring, Dan. *forgiöre*; *görning* is maleficium, *görningar* artes magicae, much in the same way as facinus is both deed and misdeed. Our *thun*, to do, passes into *anthun*, to inflict (by sorcery); and the ON. *fordœða* (malefica), Sæm. 64ª. 197ᵇ comes from dâð (facinus).[1] Now the Greek and Latin words ἔρδειν, ῥέζειν, *facere* (p. 41n.), mean not only to do, but to sacrifice, without requiring the addition of ἱερά or sacra, and ἔρδειν τινί τι is to bewitch; the ON. *blôta*, beside its usual sense of sacrificare, consecrare, has that of maledicere; whether *fornœskja*, sorcery, can be connected with *fórn*, sacrifice, has been discussed, p. 41.—A difficult word to explain is the OHG. *zoupar* divinatio, maleficium, *zouparari* hariolus, *zouparôn* hariolari; Notker spells *zoufer* in Ps. 57, 6, *zouver* in Boeth. 29, *zouferlih*, *zouverlih* in Cap. 45. 99; the MHG. *zouber*, *zoubern* answers exactly to the strict OHG. forms with *p*, to LG. *tover*, *toveren*, and the same in Nethl. both Mid. and Mod. (conf. toverîe, Maerl. 1, 260-3, toverare 1, 266. 2, 176-7, toeverîe is a faulty spelling); O. Fris. *taweria*, Richth. 401. 21. The Icelandic has *töfur* instrumenta magica, *töfrar* incantamenta, *töfra* fascinare,

[1] M. Lat. *factura* (sortilegium), *facturare* (fascinare), *affacturatrix* (incantatrix); Ital. *fattura* (incantatio), *fattucchiero*, *-ra*, sorcerer, -ress; Prov. *fachurar*, faiturar, to conjure, *fachilieira*, faitileira, sorceress; O. Fr. *faiture*, *faictureric*, sorcery; Span. *hecho* (facinus), *hechizo* (incantatio), *hechizar* conjure, *hechicero*, *-ra*, sorcerer, -ress.

töfrari magus, *töfranorn* saga, Fornald. sög. 3, 205; with which the Norw. *tougre* fascinare (Hallager 131[b]) and Swed. *tofver* incantatio, *tofverhäxa* saga, agree; we may safely suppose a modern importation of all these Scand. words from Germany, as they do not occur in ON. writings.[1] I am in doubt whether an AS. *teáfor* is to be connected with *zoupar;* it signifies minium, color coccineus, and Lye gives (without ref.) *tifran* depingere, which ought perhaps to be tȳfrian. The addition of the adj. red in *reád teáfor* (rubrica) favours the conjecture that *teáfor* was a general term for the colours employed in illuminating manuscripts, and thus may stand for rune, mystic writing, hence our *zauber* (magic).[2] To identify *zoupar* with *zëpar* (p. 40), AS. *teáfor* with *tiber,* is forbidden by the difference of vowel, though it would bring the notion of magic very near that of sacrifice again. One would much rather trace *zoupar* to zouwan, Goth. táujan, AS. tawian (facere, parare), and assume the operation of some anomalous change of the *w* into *v, b, p.*[3] Even the Lith. daryti, Lett. darriht (facere), and the Slav. tvoríti (facere, creare, fingere) are worth considering.—Another term no less perplexing is one peculiar to the Saxon branch of our race. In L. Saxony they still say for conjuring or soothsaying, *wikhen, wicken* (Ssp. 2, 13. Homeyer p. 117 var. x) and *wigelen* (wichelen), for fortune-teller *wikker, wichler,* for witch *wikkerske,* for sorcery *wichelie.* So in Nethl. both *wikken* and *wichelen, wikkerij* and *wichelarij;* M. Nethl. *wikelare* ariolus, Maerl. 2, 323. 348, *wigelare,* Kästner's Bruchst. 42[b], *wigelinge* vaticinium 12[b]. The AS. also has the two forms: both *wiccian* fascinare, *wicce* saga, *wiccungdôm* (Cædm. 223, 17) or *wiccancræft* ars magica; and *wiglian* ariolari, *wigelere* augur, *wigelung* augurium, incantatio; while the Fris. transposes the letters, *wiliga* incantatio, Richth. 401, 21. The Engl. has *witch* = wicce; from the AS. verb has survived its partic. *wicked* (perversus, maledictus), and O. Engl. had an adj. *wikke* meaning the same; add *wizard,* but all the L-forms have

[1] So the Lüneburg Wendic *tóblatsch* sorcerer (Eccard p. 291), *tobalar* sorcerer, *towlatza, toblarska* sorceress (Jugler's Wtb.), seem borrowed from German, as other Slavic dialects have nothing similar; for the Slovèn. *zóper* magic, *zóprati* to conjure, *zopernik, -nitza* sorcerer, -ress, are certainly the Germ. zauber, etc.

[2] Is the derivation of our *ziffer,* Engl. *cipher,* Fr. *chiffre,* It. *cifra, cifera* (secret writing) from an Arabic word a certainty? Ducange sub v. cifrae has examples from the 12th cent. The AS. word has a striking resemblance.

[3] Our gelb, farbe, gerben, mürbe, all have *w* in MHG.

disappeared. The word is unknown to any HG. dialect, old or new;[1] yet I believe it springs from a root common to all Teutonic tongues, viz. veihan (no. 201), which again had originally the sense of facere, conficere, sacrare, and from which came the adj. veihs (sacer), OHG. wîh, and the noun vaíhts (res), conf. Slav. tvar, tvor (creatura, κτίσις). We know that vaíhts, wight, acquired the sense of dæmon (p.440-1), and the ON. *vættr* (örm vættr, poor wight) means a witch in Sæm. 214ᵇ. I treat the *kk* in wikken as I did that in Ecke from the root agan (p. 237), and this is supported by the *g* in wigelen and *ch* in wichelen (evidently a *ch*=*h*).—Near in meaning, though unrelated in origin, seems the OHG. *wîzago*, AS. *wîtega*, *wîtga*, Cædm. 218, 18. 224, 13, our *weissage*, prophet, soothsayer, but in a good, not in a bad sense; the ON. form *vitki*, Sæm. 63ᵃ. 118ᵃ, stands for vitugi (conf. vitug 94ᵃ), as ecki, eitki does for eitgi (Gramm. 3, 738), and vætki for vætgi. This vitki has been wrongly identified with AS. *wicce*: never does an AS. *cc* result from *tg*, though it becomes *tch* in English.[2] The corresponding verb is OHG. *wîzagôn*, AS. *wîtegian*, M. Nethl. *witegen*, Diut. 2, 202ᵇ.—Equivalent at first to wîtega and vitki were the ON. *spâmaðr*, *spâkona*, *spâdîs* (pp. 94. 402): but from signifying the gift of wisdom and prediction as it resides in priest and poet,[3] they gradually declined into the sense of noxious wizard and witch. Even Snorri's *for-spâr* and *fiöl-kunnigr* (p. 1031 n.) had already acquired the bad secondary sense. *Fiölkunnigr* (multiscius) came to mean magician, and *fiöl-kunnâtta fiölkŷngi*, and even the simple *kŷngi* (=kunnugi) sorcery. This kŷngi was learnt as a profession: 'Rögnvaldr *nam fiölkŷngi*,' Har. Hârf. saga cap. 36. Walther 116, 29 says of a lady wondrous fair: 'daz si iht anders *künne* (that she was up to other tricks, knew too much), daz soll man übergeben (you are not to imagine).' Hans Sachs calls an old sorceress by turns 'die alt unhuld' and 'die *weise frau*' iv. 3, 32-3 (see Suppl.).

[1] Vegius in the Lex Burg. 16, 3 and OHG. 1, 8 has been taken to mean magician; but, as the rubric 'viator' in the last passage shews, it is one who fetches and carries, index, delator.

[2] Of like meaning are: *weiser mann*, *weise frau*, *kluge frau*; ON. *visindamaðr*, sage, natural philosopher, Fornald. sög. 1, 5; Serv. *vietcht* peritus, *vietchtats*, *-titsa* veneficus, -ca; Pol. *wieszczka* sorceress, fortune-teller, *wieszczyka* night-hag, lamia; Slovèn. *vezha* witch.

[3] Analogous is the O. Fr. *devin*, *divin*, magician, diviner.

Inasmuch as spying is foreseeing and seeing, there is another word for conjuring that I can connect with it. Without any bodily contact, things may be acted upon by mere looking, by the evil eye: this in our older speech was called *entsehen* (p. 461).

But as the vates, beside seeing and knowing, has also to sing the mystic strain and speak the spell, there must from the earliest times have been words to express conjuring, like our present *beschreien, beschwatzen, berufen, überrufen, beschwören* [from cry, call, talk, swear]. The OHG. *kalan*, AS. *galan*, ON. *gala*, was not only canere, but incantare, a recital with binding power, a singing of magic words. Such spoken charm was called in ON. *galdr*, AS. *galdor*, OHG. *kalstar* (not to be confounded with këlstar, sacrifice, p. 38-9), MHG. *galsterîe*, Schwanr. 813; we find *galsterweiber* for witches even in Mod. German; *galdr* in itself seems not to have meant anything criminal, for *meingaldr* (wicked spell) is particularized, Fornm. sög. 2, 137. ON. *galdra* fascinare, *galdramaðr* incantator, *galdrakona* saga; AS. *galdorcræft* magia, *galdere* magus; OHG. *kalstarari* incantator, 'Medea diu handega *galsterarâ*,' N. Cap. 100. In like manner the Fr. *charme, charmer* come from carmen, and *enchanter* incantare from cantus, canere. The M. Lat. *carminare*, to enchant, gave birth to an OHG. *garminari, germinari* incantator, *germinôd* incantatio, Diut. 2, 326[b]. Gl. Doc. 213[a]. *germenôd*, N. Cap. 100; which afterwards died out of the language. The MHG. already used *segen* [blessing, from signum] for a magic formula, *segenœrinne* for enchantress. Chap. XXXVIII. will go more deeply into this necessary connexion of magic with the spoken word, with poetic art; but, as the mystery of language easily passes into that of symbol, as word and writing get indissolubly wedded, and in our idiom the time-honoured term *rune* embraces both tendencies; it throws some light on the affinity of zoupar with teâfor (p. 1033), and also on the method of divination (p. 1037) by rune-staves.

The Goth. *afhugjan*, to deprive of one's senses, bewilder, stands in Gal. 3, 1 for *βασκαίνειν* = fascinare;[1] AS. *dyderian, bedyderian* illudere, incantare, perhaps conn. with our HG. tattern, dottern (angi, delirare); we now say *verblenden*, daze, dazzle. That ON. *tröll* (p. 526), which stood for giants and spirits, is also

[1] Is this, or is the Ital. fasciare, the source of Fr. fâcher, formerly fascher, irritare, Span. enfadar?

applied to magicians, *tröll-skapr* is sorcery, the Sw. *trolla*, Dan. *trylle* incantare, *trolldom*, *trolddom* witchcraft; the Gulaþingslag p. 137 has 'at *vekja tröll*' for conjuring, which reminds us of 'veckja hildi' and 'waking the Sælde,' p. 864. The Frisians say *tsyoene* fascinare, *tsyoen-er*, *-ster* sorcerer, -ress, which (as initial *ts* before *i* or *y* often stands for *k*) is no doubt to be explained by the ON. kyn in its collateral sense of monstrum, conf. MHG. kunder. I cannot satisfactorily account for an O.Sw. *viþskipli*, used in the Vestgötalag for magic, not of the worst kind, but what can be expiated by penance: 'far konä meþ *viþskiplum*,' p. 153; 'värþer taken meþ *viþskipplum*,' p. 228; 'convictus de *widskiplum*,' p. 321; it is plainly the present *vidskepelse* superstitio; skipa is ordinare, facere, and the wrongness must lie in the vid; conf. beginn. of ch. XXXV.

We find *seiðr* meaning magic already in the Edda: '*seið* hon kunni,' said of a vala or völva, Sæm. 4; *seiðberendr* 118ª are magicians, who stand on a par with völur and vitkar; and the word becomes commoner in the sagas. If we might spell it *seyðr* (as one poem has it in Fornald. sög. 2, 130), we should get both an easy derivation from siôða to seethe, and another point of contact with Goth. sáuþs, p. 40. *Seiðmaðr* is magician, *seiðkona*, *seyðkona* a wise woman, one that skills to seethe and cook magic remedies.[1] Meanwhile seiðr occurs clearly as a vowel-change from *sîða*, Yngl. saga cap. 16-7, Loki reproaches Oðinn with having practised sorcery: 'þik sîða koðo,' Sæm. 63ª, and I have never seen siôða put for it; so the two words, even if cognate, must remain apart, or find their justification in an exceptional shifting from the 4th to the 5th series of vowel-change.

The OHG. *puozan*, AS. *bêtan*, is emendare, but also mederi, to remedy, heal; in Westphalia *böten*[2] still expresses the action of old-fashioned charms as opposed to scientific medicine, Superst. I, 873; the Teutonista gives *boiten* as synon. with conjuring, and the M. Nethl. *ût boeten* is sanare (Reinh. 5394).[3]

[1] *Seyðr* or *sauðr* is a poetic word for a fire to cook by: 'á seyði bera,' Sæm. 54ª, to set on the fire, take to cook, make to boil.

[2] Roth de nomin. vet. Germ. med. p. 139.

[3] Foreign terms are less interesting, *e.g.* AS. *drȳ* magus, pl. dr*ȳ*as, *drȳcræft* magia, whose Celtic origin is betrayed by the familiar name of *Druid*; Ir. *draoi* wizard, *draoidheachd* sorcery. *Nigrômanzie* already in medieval poets, Ms. 2, 10ᵇ; 'der list von *nigrômanzi*,' Parz. 453, 17. 617, 12, *list* m. answering to ON. *tȳrôtt*, which Snorri uses of magic; *nigromancie*, Maerl. 2, 261. 'der *swarzen buoche* wis,'

Now, as the concocting of remedies and that of poisons easily fall into one, the OHG. *luppi*, AS. *lyf*, MHG. *lüppe*, is used of poisoning and bewitching: '*lüppe* und zouber trîben,' Berth. 12, and *lüppœrinne* 58 is sorceress, exactly as *veneficium* and *venefica* stand related in Latin; and the Goth. *lubjaleisei*, Gal. 5, 20 is *φαρμακεία*, sorcery, and leisei is like list in *zouberlist*, Iw. 1284. Even the Goth. lêkeis, OHG. lâhhi (leech, medicus in the good honest sense), and lâhhinôn (mederi), lâhhan (remedium) lie at the root of the words *lâchenœrinne* enchantress, Oberl. bîhteb. 46, *lachsnen* quackery, conjuring, *lachsnerin* witch, Stald. 2, 150.

In Hessian witch-trials of the 16th cent., the usual, nay the only term for bewitching is *derren*, prop. nocere; as even OHG. tarôn acquired, beside nocere, the meanings fraudare, officere, illudere (see Suppl.).

A part of the diviner's craft consisted in casting and interpreting lots. Like the Lat. *sortilegium* and *sortilegus* (M. Lat. *sortiarius*, whence Fr. *sorcier*), our old German words *hliozan* (Graff 4, 1122), MHG. *liezen* (augurari, Diut. 3, 107-8. Er. 8123), and *hliozari*, *liezære* (augur, divinator) are applicable to sorcery. Then from the customary phrase 'mittere, jactare sortem' seems to have been borrowed the expression *zouber werfen*, to *throw* a spell, Wolfd. 515. 520. 533, jeter un sort, 'maleficium super jactare,' Lex Sal. 22, 4; *zouber legen*, to *lay* a spell, Walth. 115, 32. 116, 23-5. The Swed .*tjusa* to conjure is, I think, for *kjusa*, ON. kiôsa, choose, spy (Gramm. 4, 848), pick, eligere sortem; but also the 'vala,' the wise woman and enchantress, is one that 'wales' or chooses, a valkyrja.

One species of divination was performed with the drinking-cup (Genesis 44, 5). From the Lat. *caucus* (for scyphus) are supposed to have sprung *cauculator*, Capitul. an. 789, § 63 capit. 1, 62. 6, 373, and *coclearius*, ib. § 18 capit. 5, 69, and from these the OHG. *coucalari* scenicus, magicus, Gl. Mons. 377, *gougulari*,

Troj. 7411. 'suochen an den *swarzen buochen*,' Martina 20ᵃ. 'nû lêr etz in sîn *swarzez buoch*, daz ime der hellemôr hât gegeben,' Walth. 33, 7. *Black art*, black artist, not till a later time. All this came of misunderstanding the Gr. *νεκρομαντεία*. In the Ulm Vocab. of 1475 we read: '*nigramansia* dicitur divinatio facta per nigros, i.e. mortuos, vel super mortuos, vel cum mortuis.' A curious statement in Bit. 79 about *Toledo*: 'ein *berc* lît nâhen da bî, dâ *der list nigrômanzî* von êrste wart erfunden (first invented);' another opinion propounded in Herbort 9372. Our Mid. Ages saddled the Saracens in Spain and Apulia with its invention: 'ein *püllisch* zouber,' Ms. 2, 133ᵇ.

O. iv. 16, 33, *koukelari*, Georgsl. 25, *goucaltuom* magia, Gl. Mons. 375, *goukel* praestigium, N. ps. 65, 3; MHG. *gougel gougelære*, Walth. 37, 34, our *gaukel*, juggle; ON. *kukl* praestigium, *kuklari* magus; M. Nethl. *cokelere* hariolus, Diut. 2, 217ᵃ. Others derive gaukler from joculator, and one thing that seems to be in its favour is the mild meaning, of mere sleight-of-hand, which still clings to gauklerei (jugglery), i.e. harmless tricks performed by way of game and recreation; conf. gougel-bühse (-box), Walth. 38, 6. Renn. 2244. gougelstok (-stick), Martina 9ᵃ. gougelfuore (-cart), MsH. 3, 166ᵃ. 186ᵃ. gougelspil (-play) 438ᵃ. goukelhüetlîn (-cap), Renn. 16719, conf. Walth. 37, 34. So the Nethl. *guichelen, gochelen, goghelen, guichelaar*: 'gokelt onder den hoet,' Ferg. 2772; the form guichelen is very like *wichelen* (p. 1033), and there actually occurs an AS. *hweolere, hweohlere* (suggesting hweohl, *κύκλος*, rota) as another way of spelling wigelere, so that one might really conjecture an O. Frankish chuigalari, and from it get cauculator, were not everything else against it. I will just mention also the Boh. *kauzlo* magic, *kauzliti* to conjure, Pol. *gusla* magic, *guslarz* conjurer; this *g* form we might be tempted to refer to the Serv. gusle, Russ. gusli, psaltery, as the bewitching instrument, but that the Pol. gesle, Boh. hausle, does not agree (see Suppl.).

The various ways of naming magic have led us to the notions of doing, sacrificing,[1] spying, soothsaying, singing, sign-making (secret writing), bewildering, dazzling, cooking, healing, casting lots.

They shew that it was practised by men as well as women. Yet even our earliest antiquities impute it preeminently to *women*. More influential, more expert than the zouparari, wigelere, spâmaðr, galdramaðr, appears the *zouparârâ, wicce, wikkerske, kalstarârâ, galdrakona, spâkona;* and to these must be added some appellations hardly applicable to any but female witchery.

For the reason of this I look to all the circumstances external and internal. To woman, not to man, was assigned the culling and concocting of powerful remedies, as well as the cooking of food. Her lithe soft hand could best prepare the salve, weave the lint and dress the wound; the art of writing and reading is in

[1] Even where the vowel resists, the coincidence is remarkable: fôrn and forn, gëlstar and galstar, sauð and seið, zëpar and zoupar.

the Mid. Ages ascribed chiefly to women. The restless lives of men were filled up with war, hunting, agriculture and handicrafts; to women experience and convenient leisure lent every qualification for secret sorcery. Woman's imagination is warmer and more susceptible, and at all times an inner sacred power of divination was revered in her (pp. 95. 397). Women were priestesses, prophetesses (56n. 94—8), their names and fame are embalmed alike in Old-German and Norse tradition; and the faculty of somnambulism still shews itself most of all in women. Then again, looked at from one side, the art of magic must have been chiefly monopolized by *old women*, who, dead to love and labour, fixed all their thoughts and endeavours on hidden science.[1] Snorri in his curious account of the origin of magic (Yngl. s. cap. 7) says, that to males (karlmönnum) it seemed undignified to dabble in a doubtful art, so they taught it the *goddesses* or *priestesses*, for gyðjur can mean either. According to differences of national sentiment, the norns and völvas (p. 403), the valkyrs and swan-maids approximate to divine beings or sorceresses. On all this put together, on a mixture of natural, legendary and imagined facts, rest the medieval notions about witchcraft. Fancy, tradition, knowledge of drugs, poverty and idleness turned women into witches, and the last three causes also shepherds into wizards (see Suppl.).

To the Latin words *saga*,[2] *strix, striga*,[3] *venefica, lamia, furia* answers our *hexe*, by which is meant sometimes an old, sometimes a young woman, and a beauty can be complimented by being called a perfect witch. The OHG. form of the word is *hazus* [pron. hatsus], *hazusa, hazusa*, Graff 4, 1091; *hazzuso* (eumeni-

[1] 'Where one *man* is burnt, there be well ten *women* burnt' says Keisersp. Om. 46. 'ein *wunderaltes wip* bescheidet den troum,' unravels the dream, Walth. 95, 8. A '*kerling frôð* ok *framsýn*' foretells of a log that is to perish in the fire, Nialssaga 194-9. Very early times impute to *old women* more craft and malice than to the devil himself, as we see by the pretty story of the hag who set a loving couple by the ears when the devil could not, for which he handed her a pair of shoes cautiously on a peeled stick, being afraid of her touch, Morolt 917—1007. Haupt's Altd. bl. 2, 81. H. Sachs ii. 4, 9. Melander's Jocoseria 2, 53. Conde Lucanor cap. 48. No witchcraft comes into the story, though the first account calls her a zouberîn.

[2] '*Sagire* sentire acute est; ex quo *sagae* anus, quia multa scire volunt,' Cic. de Divin. 1, 31.

[3] Lex Sal. 22. 67. Lex Alam. add. 22 *stria*; O.Fr. *estrie* (see p. 287 dame Habonde); Ital. *strega, stregona* (whence perh. the Swiss *sträggele* p. 934), a wizard being *stregone*. Orig. strix, στρίγξ, was bird of night, owl: '*striges* ab avibus ejusdem nominis, quia maleficae mulieres volaticae dicuntur,' Festus sub v.

dum), Diut. 2, 350ᵃ, is gen. pl. of hazus, hazes 2, 346ᵃ; *hezesusun* (furiis) 2, 337ᵇ apparently a corruption of hegezusun? The Gl. Flor. 21 give *hegezisse*, and that the genuine form in full was *hagazus* or *hagazusa* (p. 1045n.) we are assured by the AS. *hægtesse*, M. Nethl. *hagetisse*, Diut. 2, 229ᵇ, *haghedisse*, Hor. Belg. 1, 119: the contraction of the first two syll. (as in tâlanc for taga-lank) speaks for its age and frequent use; we must therefore prefer the spelling *hâzus* with long *a*, and in N. Cap. 105 it does seem to be *hâzessa*, Wackern. lb. 153, 36 in spite of Graff's hazessa. Rarely do we find a MHG. *hegxse*, *hexse*, Martina 90ᶜ. 106ᵇ, *hecse*, Oberl. bîhteb. 46; the Swiss say *hagsch*, *haagsch*, Stald. 2, 10; at Ulm, says Schmid's Schwäb. id. 156, they call a stingy old woman *hekkäs*, only another way of writing hexe. But as the AS., beside *hægtesse*, has also *hægesse*, Engl. *hag*, MHG. *hächel*, Ls. 2, 638, Swiss *häggele* (conf. sträggele), the suffixed letters seem to have added little to the simple root *hag*. The ON. adj. hagr means dexter, artificiosus, and might have had the full sense of sagus: our *hexe* is a deep sly woman. Still the ON. never does use a masc. noun hagr or a fem. hög in such a way; and the Swed. *hexa*, Dan. *hex*, in their very spelling betray their Mod. German extraction. For hexen, to bewitch, Up. German dialects furnish *hechsnen*, which agrees with an O. Fris. verb *hexna* (Richth. 159, 25, one MS. has hoxna); the Dalecarlian is hâgsa, hugsa [hoax, hocus?]. Down to the 16-17th cent., instead of the rare MHG. forms given above, the preference was given to *unholde* (which properly means she-devil, p. 266), as diu *unholde* in Martina 170ᶜ. 172ᶜ, occasionally backed by a masc. *unholdære;* in Keisersberg and Sachs unholde is still the usual word, not till the 17-18th cent. did *hexe* become general instead of it. Here and there the people use a masc. *hex* for conjurer; in Swabia der *hengst* (Schmid 273), in Switz. *haagg*, *hagg*, *hak* for cheat, juggler; even the OHG. *hâzus* strio (masc. to stria? hardly for histrio?) might mean a male. Many have been caught by the obvious resemblance of the Gr. *Hecate*, Ἑκάτη, but the letters agree too closely, contrary to the laws of change, and the Mid. Ages would surely have had an unaspirated Ecate handed down to them; no Ecate or Hecate appears in M. Lat. or Romance writings in the sense of witch, and how should the word have spread through all German lands? About the M. Nethl. *haghe-*

disse, strix, there is this to be said, that the Mod. Nethl. *eghdisse*, *egdisse*, *haagdisse* is lacerta, our eidechse, OHG. egidehsa, AS. âðexe: the lizard does seem to have played a part in magic, and witch-trials actually speak of witches giving birth to a lizard instead of the traditional elf, Märk. forsch. 1, 260 (see Suppl.). In the Span. *hechicero*, *-ra* I see again only an accidental likeness (p. 1032 n.); the Span. *bruxa*, South Fr. *bruesche*, means a baneful nightbird, but, like strix, it has passed into the sense of witch. *Drut*, *drude* is often found as an equivalent for witch, though strictly it denotes the tormenting oppressive nightmare; out of what heathen being this *drut* arose, was shown on p. 423, it was so easy for elvish sprites of the olden time to be afterwards mixt up with human sorceresses; in the same way *bilwiz*, *belewitte* (p. 473) will now and then occur in witch-affairs.

Another set of names, presented to us in the ON. remains, merits particular attention: here we see the notion of magic women stand next door to that of giantesses. *Tröll* is the general term including at once beings of the elf or giant brood and those of magic kind (p. 526), yet so that at first the giant character predominates, and afterwards the diabolic. *Tröllahâls*, *tröllaskögr*, *tröllatûnga* occur in the Landnâmabôk; *tröllskapr* may be taken to mean, first the iötunmôðr p. 530, secondly our witchcraft and magic. But while scarcely any mention is made of a tröllmaðr, there is plenty about the *tröllkona*, and names for a giantess like *flagð*, *skass*, *skessa* (p. 526) are applied without scruple to witches. Snorri 210 gives a long string of names, some hard to interpret, which will be a task to the student for some time to come. Others, archaic and poetically conceived, are told by one who is a tröllkona to Bragi, who meets her at eventide, Sn. 175. The copiousness of this nomenclature implies the great antiquity of magic in the North, and its deep-rooted oneness with the systems of magic all over Europe: the most significant of these names I shall take up and explain in the course of discussion.

On such etymological groundwork, of the more general terms that come under question, may now follow an examination of the subject itself.

And this time I will commence with Scandinavian sorcery,

whose more antiquated and to my thinking unadulterated character proves above all things that the leading part in it was taken by women, not by men.

It is true the Edda classifies magicians as *völur, vitkar* and *seiðberendr*, Sæm. 118ª, of whom only the first are female, the other two male; nay, all three are traced up to *Viðólfr, Vilmeiðr* and *Svarthöfði*, alleged inventors of magic, about whom there is nothing conclusive to be said. *Svart-höfði*, Blackhead, may come of the *black* art, and *black* as the fiendish colour in general (p. 993). *Vilmeiðr*, compounded of vil (favor, beneplacitum) and meiðr (arbor), ought rather to claim kinship with the pleasing art of poesy (p. 901). *Viðólfr* would seem to be the '*Vitolfus* medendi peritus' mentioned in Saxo Gram. 122. To me however the first named, the *völur*, seem to throw the rest into the shade: that poetic dialogue with Bragi gives the witch a *vilsinn völu* (better perh. vilsinni, acc. vilsinna), i.e. a friend and comrade of the vala. *Vitkar, vîtkar*, are the OHG. wîzagon, soothsayers, vates, which supports my interpretation of Vilmeiðr. *Seiðr* has no right to be monopolized by men: we saw above (p. 1036), and shall soon make out more exactly, that it pertains to women too, that seiðkonor shew themselves no less than seiðberendr. Both must have been forthcoming in great numbers in some districts: in Harald hârf. saga cap. 36, king Eirîkr causes his brother Rögnvald and 80 seiðmenn to be burnt. The *vala* or *völva* is a prophetess, priestess, norn, a most holy being of the olden time (pp. 97. 408), and at the same time a *seiðkona*. Even of the Eddic *vala* it is said: 'seið hon kunni,' Sæm. 4ᵇ. Such magic women are *Heiðr, Hamglöm, Skuld*, etc., all originally *air-riding* valkyrs (p. 421); in Sæm. 154ᵇ *völva, skass, valkyrja* stand side by side. Weighty evidence shall be brought by and by of their wanderings in the wood at even and by night. They *roam through the country with their retinue* (með sitt lið), are reverently invited in by men, entertained, and called upon to say sooth. This they do, sitting on a four-legged stool, the *seiðhiallr*. The performance is called *efla seið* (fixing, instituting magic), Fornald. sög. 2, 72. 3, 318; *setja seið* 1, 97; 'seiðrinn verðr *erfiðr*,' is wrought 1, 12; *færa â hiallinn* is to conduct to the stool 2, 72. The later sagas evidently throw in contemptible features. In the company of *Skuld*, says Fornald. sög. 1, 97, might be seen elves,

norns and other such fry (álfar ok nornir ok annat ill-þýði). *Heiðr* may still come riding with 15 youths and 15 maids (2, 165. 506), but Oddr sets little store by her, addresses her as 'allra kellínga *örmust,*' poorest (wretchedest) of old women 168. 508. So when the Fornm. 3, 212 mentions these vagrants, who tell people's fortunes, the same word is used 214: 'völvan *arma,*' miserable witch, like '*usle* havfrue' in the Dan. folksong (DV. 1, 110).[1] King Fróði wished to get a prophecy out of the völva *Heiðr,* Fornald. sög. 1, 10: 'giörði hann þá gilda veizlu í móti henni, ok setti hana á seiðhiall einn hâan . . . ok svara mer sem skiotast, *seiðkona!*' When she falters, and will not say all, he threatens to use force: 'þik skal *pína til sagna*' (11. 12).[2] It is worth noting, that the seiðr is performed *at night,* when men are asleep, by the völvas, who *sally out with their company:* 'menn fóru at sofa, en völva *fór til náttfars seiðs með sitt lið*' 2, 166; and the parallel passage 2, 507 says: 'gekk hun þá út *með liði sínu,* er aðrir gengu til svefns, ok *efldi seið.*' Ketill was roused at night by a great uproar in the wood, he ran out and saw a sorceress with *streaming hair* (sá tröllkonu, ok fêll fax á herðar henni); being questioned, she begged him not to balk her, she was bound for a *magic mote,* to which were coming Skelking king of sprites from Dumbshaf, Ofóti (unfoot) from Ofótansfirð, Thorgerðr Hörgatröll and other mighty ghosts from the northland (ek skal till tröllaþíngs, þar kemr Skelkíngr, norðan or Dumbshafi, konúngr trölla, ok Ofóti ur Ofótansfirði, Thórgerðr Hörgatröll ok aðrar stór-vættir norðan ur landi), Fornm. sög. 1, 131, conf. 3, 222. The riding out by night to do magic was called *sitja úti* (Biörn 2, 251[a] explains it: sub dio nocturnis incantationibus operam dare); the Norw. Laws name these jaunts *úti-setor* to wake up the magic-working sprites: 'spáfarar allar oc *útisetor* at vekja tröll upp, oc fremja með því heidni,' Gulath. p. 137. Of the objects of Scand. sorcery I will give a specimen or two. Fees were given to sorceresses, to raise up storms: 'sendu eptir seiðkonum, tveimr, Heiði ok Hamglöm, ok gáfu þaim fé til, *at þær sendi veðr* . . . þær

[1] *Arm* poor, slight, miserable. I named *poverty* as a cause of sorcery, p. 1039: '*armer* wârsage, wissage,' Freidank 124, 1. Ms. 2, 176[a], and note to Freid. p. 372. '*armer* bleicher (wan) wissage!' Herb. 2266.

[2] 'þa lêt hann taka Finn, einn er margfróðr var, oc vildi neyða hann til saðrar sögu (force him to a sooth saw), oc *pindi hann,* oc feck þó ecki af hönum,' Saga Hálfdanar svarta cap. 8.

efldu seiðinn, ok fœrðust â hiallinn með göldrum ok giörnîngum,' Fornald. sög. 2, 72. Magic made men proof against weapons, invulnerable: 'var seidt at Haraldi, at hann skyldi *eigi bîta iarn*,' iron should not bite him 1, 374. 'þeir lêtu seiða at Ögmundi, svâ at hann skyldi *engi iarn bîta* atkvæðalaus' 2, 241.

Certain features, that agree with the descriptions to be given by and by of witches' doings, might be thought plagiarisms. I doubt it. True, the nocturnal gathering before Skelking, Ofôti and Thôrgerð is not altogether in the spirit of ON. religion, but it may have arisen in Scandinavia itself by the gradual deterioration of older beliefs. Nowhere is the Devil mentioned, though the 'footless one' may remind us of the horse-footed. This Norse *tröllа-þing* is more like the meetings of our *night-women*, whom I take to have sprung out of wise-women and völvas; and this is fully borne out by the nightly excursion of Heiðr with her party of 30 persons, and that of Skuld with elves and norns. Thôrgerð, Skuld and Heið are, like Hulda and Berhta, purely pagan half-goddesses, round whom gathers the magic ring-dance; they stir up storm and tempest, they make invulnerable, they prophesy. Their *seið-hiallr* with *four props* or *prongs* (stôlpar, stiklar), Fornald. sög. 1, 12. 3, 319 (see Suppl.), finds nothing to match it in the German witch-world; it does remind us of the Delphian pythia's *tripod*, and possibly further inquiry may allot a *three-legged stool* to German night-excursionists as well, especially as that article has a sacredness belonging to it from of old, RA. 80. 189. 208; conf. in Superst. F, 59. 60 the sitting on the *tripod*, and I, 111 the caution against setting an empty *trivet* on the fire. Skuld queens it here, does her spiriting in a black tent, sits on her magic stool: 'sat î sinu svarta tialdi â seiðhialli sînum, skiptir nû svâ um, sem dimm nôtt komi eptir biartan dag,' Fornald. 1, 105. With the Norse enchantresses the power and obligation to *prophesy* is still predominant, which in German witches and night-women falls into the background. Other features of the Norse faith in magic I can better weave into the account, now to follow, of our own antiquities.

Christianity found a heathen belief in magic-wielding women existing among Celts and Germans as well as Greeks and Romans, but has largely modified it; views held by heretics or imputed to

them got mixt up with it, and out of everything put together witchcraft has to be explained. Down to the latest period we perceive in the whole witch-business a *clear connexion with the sacrifices and spirit-world of the ancient Germans*. This of itself proves the gross unfairness and grotesque absurdity of witch-burning in later times.

A world-old fancy, that has penetrated all nations, finds in sorcery the power to *hide or change one's figure*. Enchanters would turn into wolves, enchantresses into cats; the wolf was the sacred beast of Wuotan, the cat of Frouwa, two deities that had most to do with souls and spirits. The adept in magic assumed a mask, *grîma* (p. 238),[1] a trölls-ham, by which he made himself unrecognisable, and went rushing through the air, as spirits also put on grîmhelms, helidhelms (p. 463); often we see the notion of sorceress and that of *mask*[2] meet in one, thus the Leges Roth. 197. 379 have '*striga*, quod est *masca*,' '*striga*, quae dicitur *masca*.' On this last term I shall have more to say by and by (see Suppl.).

But sorceresses have also at their command a bird's shape, a feather-garment, especially that of the goose, which stands for the more ancient swan, and they are like swan-wives, valkyrs, who traverse the breezes and troop to the battle. Inseparable from the notion of magic is that of *flying* and *riding* through air (p. 427), and the ancient Thrûðr becomes a *drut* (p. 423), and Holda an *unholdin*. Like the 'holde' sprites, 'unholde' now float in the air with the Furious Host. They *assemble in troops* to fulfil a common function.

From this subject, then, heathen sacrificial rites are by no means to be excluded. Our very oldest Laws, esp. the Salic, mention *gatherings* of witches *for cooking*, and I remind the reader of those Gothland *suðnautar* (p. 56) at a sacrifice. The Lex Sal. cap. 67 specifies it as the grossest insult to call a man *witches' kettle-bearer*: 'si quis alterum cherviburgum, hoc est *strioportium* clamaverit, aut illum qui inium dicitur portasse *ubi*

[1] ON. *Grîma*, name of a sorceress; also *Grýla* (horrific), Sn. 210[a].

[2] Can *hagebart*, larva, Gl. Herrad. 189[a] be conn. with hag in hagezusa? A mask is sometimes called *schembart*, of which more hereafter: bearded masks were worn in masquerades. I am even tempted to explain the latter half of hagazusa by zussa (lodix), or zusa (cingulum, strophium), Graff 5, 711; conf. MHG. zûse (cirrus), Diut. 1, 458-9. 460.

strias (for striae) *cocinant.*' In my RA. 645 I have tried to explain chervioburgus.[1] He that demeans himself to carry witches' utensils becomes contemptible to men; he may also be called simply strioportius, witches' carrier, being hired by them to do it. Now this *kettle-bearer* is never named in the later stories of witches, but these often take a *piper* to their meetings, whose business is to play to their feasting and dancing, without being exactly an accomplice in the conjuring; and he may be likened to that menial. The words *ubi striae cocinant* (some MSS. coquinant, cucinant; Lex. emend. incorrectly concinunt) imply a *cooking* and seething (seyðr p. 1036) by several witches *in common.* In Macbeth three witches—but they are 'weird-sisters' too (p. 407), and so suggest the old meaning of drût—meet on a heath and in a cave, to boil their *cauldron.* They are not so much enchantresses in league with the Devil, as fate-announcing wise-women or priestesses, who prophesy by their cauldron, p. 56 (see Suppl.).

It may seem over-bold to name Shakspeare's witches in the same breath with ancient Cimbrian prophetesses, with strigas of the Salic Law; but here we have other links between the oldest times and the recent.

Speaking of heilawâc (healing waters) in chap. XX, I on purpose omitted all mention of *salt springs*, that I might here bring their sacredness into immediate connexion with the witchcraft of a later time. Tacitus, in a passage of importance in many ways, Annals 13, 57, tells us: 'Eadem aestate inter Hermunduros Chattosque certatum magno praelio, dum flumen gignendo sale foecundum et conterminum vi trahunt; super libidinem cuncta armis agendi *religione insita, eos* maxime *locos propinquare coelo,* precesque mortalium a deis nusquam propius audiri. Inde indulgentia numinum *illo in amne illisque silvis salem provenire,* non ut alias apud gentes eluvie maris arescente, sed unda super ardentem arborum struem fusa, ex contrariis inter se elementis, igne atque aquis, concretum.'[2] Burgundians and

[1] Leo now explains from the Celtic, that *burgius* is the trusty, watchful, hence attendant, and *chervio* wise-woman, from gear shrewd, and bhith, bhe, woman: 'sagae minister.' Also, that *strioportius* may be the Welsh ystryws wise, and porthi helping, serving. All this is still very doubtful.

[2] 'Sed bellum Hermunduris prosperum, Chattis exitio fuit, quia victores diversam aciem Marti ac Mercurio sacravere: quo voto equi, viri, *cuncta victa* occidioni dantur. Et minae quidem hostiles in ipsos vertebant.' The sense of these remark-

Alamanns also fought for salt-springs: 'Burgundii *salinarum* finiumque causa Alamannis saepe jurgabant,' Amm. Marc. 28, 5. That not only in Germany, but in Gaul, salt was obtained by pouring water on burning wood, we know from Pliny 31. 7, 39: 'Galliae Germaniaeque ardentibus lignis aquam salsam infundunt;' hence the ritual that hallowed it may have been common to Celts and Teutons. Now of streams charged with salt there was doubtless a good number in Germany, then as now, and it is hardly possible to say which in particular was meant by Tacitus.[1] They rose on mountains, in sacred woods, their produce was deemed the direct gift of a near divinity, possession of the spot seemed worth a bloody war, the getting and distributing of salt was a holy office; would not there be very likely sacrifices and festivals connected with salt-boiling? (see Suppl.).

Suppose now that the preparation of salt was managed by women, by priestesses, that the *salt-kettle*, saltpan, was under their care and supervision; there would be a connexion established between salt-boiling and the later vulgar opinion about witchcraft: the witches gather, say on certain high days, in the holy wood, on the mountain, where the salt springs bubble, carrying

able words (pp. 44. 120-1) is: the Chatti in case of victory had devoted the hostile army (div. ac.) to Mars and Mercury; such vow binds one to sacrifice horses, men, every live thing of the defeated. The Chatti had used the vow as a threat, the victorious foe fulfilled it as his own. We need not suppose that both sides vowed, least of all that the Hermunduri vowed to Mars, the Chatti to Mercury; for then the closing words would have no point. Besides, I think the very peculiarity of this cruel vow consists in its being made to *both dispensers of victory* (pp. 134. 197-8) at once, the men falling, may be, to Wuotan's share, the women, children and animals to Zio's; none were to escape alive. Had the vow been to one god alone, he would have been content with part of the spoils; that is why Tacitus remarks that such a vow was ruin to the Chatti. The passage proves that Zio and Wuotan were worshipped by Chatti and Hermunduri; the Roman conceptions of Mars and Mercury are out of the question. Can it be, that the *horses* are named before the *men*, to shew which fell to Zio, which to Wuotan? *Beasts*, we know, were sacrificed to Mars, Germ. 9. That it was the custom to *devote* those who fell in battle to the god, is witnessed by Hervar. saga 454: 'Heiðrekr fal (set apart) Óðni *allan þann val er þar hafði fallt* til ârbôtar.'

[1] Surprising how commonly, in names of rivers and towns that produce salt, the roots *hal* and *sal* occur, both originally signifying the same wholesome holy material (ἅλς, ἁλός, sal, salis; in the alternation of *h* and *s*, the former often seems more archaic, or more German, e.g. the particle ham, sam; haso, sasa; hveits, svêtas). 'In pago *Sala*gewe, in illo fonte *ubi nascitur sal*,' Trad. Fuld. 1, 88; *Halle* on the *Sale* in Saxony, *Halle* in Ravensberg county, *Hall* on the Kocher (boiler?) in Swabia, *Hallein* on the *Salza* in Bavaria, *Hall* and *Hall*stadt in Austria, *Hall* in the vale of Inn (Tirol), *Allen*dorf (for Hall.) in Hesse, and so forth, all have salt-springs, salt works; *Halle* as much as *Sala*, *Salzaha* refers to the salt, but why do the rivers have *s*, and the towns *h*? If *halle* meant merely the hut or shed (taberna) in which the salt works are carried on (Frisch 1, 401), such a general meaning would suit almost any village that has work-sheds.

with them cooking-vessels, ladles and forks; and at night their saltpan is a-glow.[1] These conjectures are countenanced by a poem in the Vienna MS. 428, 154[b] either by Stricker or one of his countrymen and contemporaries, which I quote in full:

Ich bin gewesen ze Portigâl
und ze Dolêt sunder twâl (Toledo, I assure you),
mir ist kunt (ken'd) Kalatrâ daz lant,
dâ man di besten meister vant (found);
ze Choln (Cologne) und ze Paris,
dâ sint di pfaffen harte wîs (exceeding wise),
di besten vor allen richen (realms).
Dar fuor ich wærlîchen (travelled I truly)
niwan durch diu mære (merely to ascertain)
waz ein *unholde* wære (what a witch was)?
Daz gehôrt ich nie gelesen (never heard it read),
waz ein *unholde* müge wesen (might be).
Daz ein wîp ein chalp rite (should ride a calf),
daz wære'n wunderlîche site (fashion),
ode rit ûf einer dehsen (wand),
ode ûf einem hûspesem (besom, broom)
nâch salze ze Halle füere (fare to H. for salt);
ob des al diu welt swüere (if all the world swore it),
doch wolde ich sîn nimmer gejehen (say yea to it),
ich en-hete (unless I had) ez mit mînen ougen gesehen
wand (for) *sô würde uns nimmer tiure* (dear, scarce)
daz salz von dem ungehiure.
Ob ein wîp einen ovenstap über schrite (bestride)
und den *gegen Halle rite*
über berge und über tal,
daz si tæte deheinen val (make no fall),
daz geloube ich niht, swer daz seit (whoever says it),
und ist ein verlorniu arbeit (lost labour);
und daz ein wîp ein sib tribe (drive a sieve)
sunder vleisch und sunder ribe,
dâ niht inne wære (wherein was nought),
daz sint allez gelogniu mære (all a lying tale).
Daz ein wîp ein man über schrite
und im sîn herze ûz snite (cut out his heart),
wie zæme daz (how were that possible) einem wîbe,
daz si snite ûz einem lîbe (body)
ein herze, und stieze dar în strô (stuff straw therein),
wie möht' er (how could he) leben ode werden frô?
ein mensche muoz ein herze haben,
ez habe saf od sî beschaben.
Ich wil iu sagen mære (give you information),
waz sîn rehte *unholdære* (who real sorcerers are):

[1] OHG. salzsuti (salina), salzsôt, AS. sealtseáð (salt spring). A passage in Ihre sub v. *seið* would make this word (see p. 1036) directly applicable to salt-boiling; but, for '*salis* coctura,' read '*talis* coctura.'

daz sint der herren râtgeben (counsellors of lords)
di ir êre furdern solden und leben,
di siflent in zuo den ôren (whisper in their ears)
und machent sie ze tôren (make fools of them),
si niezent (profit by) ir erbe und ir lant
und lâzent och si ze hant (make them very soon)
scheiden von êren (part with their honour) und von guote,
von vröuden (joy) und hôhem muote.
Ditz ist ein wârez mære (true tale):
di selben (these same) *unholdære*
die sougent ûz (suck out) herze und bluot,
daz vil mangem (full many a) herren schaden tuot.

This Halle is probably the one in Austria or Bavaria, so that in those parts there still prevailed at that time the vulgar belief that the 'unholden' rode on broomstick, oven-stick or twig (Schm. sub. v. dächsen, conf. diesse p. 270 n.) over hill and dale to Halle. Was it imagined that they fetched their supply of salt home from there? which seems almost to be implied in the words, 'were it so, they would not make salt scarce to their neighbours (abstract it).' As Christians equally recognised salt as a good and needful thing, it is conceivable how they might now, inverting the matter, deny the use of wholesome salt at witches' meetings, and come to look upon it as a safeguard against every kind of sorcery (Superst. I, no. 182). For it is *precisely salt* that is *lacking*[1] in the witches' kitchen and at devil's feasts, the Church having now taken upon herself the hallowing and dedication of salt. Infants unbaptized, and so exposed, had *salt* placed beside them for safety, RA. 457. The emigrants from Salzburg dipped a wetted finger in *salt*, and swore. Wizards and witches were charged with the *misuse of salt* in baptizing beasts. I think it worth mentioning here, that the magic-endowed giantesses in the Edda knew how to grind, not only *gold*, but *salt*, Sn. 146-7: the one brought peace and prosperity, the other a tempest and foul weather.

Equally significant seems to me the use of *horseflesh* and of the *horse* altogether among wizards and witches. It was shewn, p. 47, that the heathen sacrificed horses to their gods, and any inclination to eat their flesh was denounced for a long time as a hankering after heathen ways; it is only in these days

[1] Also *bread*, another necessary of life; yet of course the heathen baked for their banquets and sacrifices exactly as the christians did.

that the prejudice against eating so clean an animal begins to give way. Well, the witches were accused of indulging in this food at their assemblies, i.e. of still keeping up heathen sacrifices. Henry Boguet in his Discours execrable des Sorciers, Rouen 1603, p. 82-3 asserts, not only 'qu'il y avoit une *grande chaudiere* sur le feu, dans laquelle chacun alloit prendre de la chair,' and 'mais il n'y a *iamais du sel*,' but also expressly 'que la chair n'est autre *chair* que *de cheual*.' If to this we add, that the *nailing up of horses' heads* (p. 47)[1] must be identified with those sacrifices, that horses' heads are thrown into Midsummer fires (p. 618), that the piper at witches' meetings (p. 1046) or other ghostly beings (p. 849) *play on horses' heads*,[2] that the devil appears with *horse's feet*, and drinking is done out of *horse-hoofs*; the whole thing assumes a still more antique appearance of heathen sacrificial rites (see Suppl.).

But if in heathen times the preparation and distribution of hallowed salt, and the eating of horseflesh stood connected with sacrifices and popular assemblies (and these were often combined), such connexion is equally proved or confirmed by all the remaining characteristics of witches' jaunts. Their Times and Places can in no other way be accounted for.

We know that all over Germany a grand annual excursion of witches is placed on the *first night in May* (Walpurgis), i.e. on the date of a sacrificial feast and the old May-gathering of the people. On the first of May, of all days, the periodical assizes continued for many centuries to be held, RA. 822-4; on that day came the merry May-ridings, p. 775, and the kindling of the sacred fire, p. 603: it was one of the highest days in all heathenism.[3] Or if two or three witch-

[1] On this fixing-up Festus has passages in striking accord: '*October equus* appellatur, qui in Campo Martio mense Oct. immolatur. De cujus *capite* non levis contentio solebat esse inter Suburanenses et Sacravienses, ut hi in regiae pariete, illi ad turrim Mamiliam id *figerent*; ejusdemque coda tanta celeritate perfertur in regiam, ut ex ea sanguis destillet in focum participandae rei divini gratia.' And: '*Panibus* redimibant *caput equi immolati* idibus Oct. in Campo Martio, quia id sacrificium fiebat ob frugum eventum, et equus potius quam bos immolabatur, quod hic bello, bos frugibus pariendis est aptus.'

[2] Musicians piping or fiddling on a *horse's head*, Trierer acten p. 203. Siegburger pp. 228. 239. Death's head for cithern, Remigius 145.

[3] A comparison of our witches' dances on May-night with the *Floralia*, which lasted from April 28 to May 1 (Hartung's Relig. d. Röm. 2, 142), and from which all men were excluded (Creuzer's Symb. 4, 608), may be allowed, provided no borrowing of the Teutonic and Celtic custom from the Roman be inferred. Rightly understood, the Greek *Dionysia* also present many points of comparison.

festivals be enumerated, as 'in Whitsuntide and Autumn,' or 'on St Walburg's, St John's and St Bartelemy's,' we have still the usual holidays and assize-days of the Mid. Ages. Danish witch-trials name 'Valdborg aften, S. Hans aften, Mariä besögelsesdags aften.' The people would never have given up their venerated season of justice to the witches, had not these been long in prescriptive possession (see Suppl.).

Still more plainly do the Localities coincide. The witches invariably resort to places where formerly justice was administered, or sacrifices were offered. Their meeting takes place on the *mead*, on the *oak-sward*, under the *lime*, under the *oak*, at the *peartree;* on the boughs of the tree sits that piper whose help they need in the dance. Sometimes they dance at the *place of execution*, under the *gallows-tree*, in the *sand-pit*. But for the most part *mountains* are named as their trysting-places, *hills* (at the three *büheln*, knolls, three *köpchen*, peaks), in fact, the highest points of a neighbourhood. We must not forget how elves and bilweises are housed *in hills* (p. 474), nor that the Servian vilas and Romance fays dwell *on mountains:* a notable passage about magic wrought on a mount (puegau, pueg, puy, Lat. podium) was quoted p. 411. The fame of particular witch-mountains extends over wide kingdoms, in the same way as high mountains are named after gods, sacrifices, courts of justice. Almost all the witch-mountains were once hills of sacrifice (p. 58), boundary-hills (malberge, RA. 801-2), or salt-hills. A *hexenbukel* is pointed out on the Hirschau boundary-line by Rothenburg on Neckar, and an *unholdenberg* near Passau; but most of them have proper names of their own. North Germany knows the *Brocken, Brocks-* or *Blocks-berg*,[1] the highest point of the Harz Mts, as the head meeting-place of witches. A confessional of the 15th cent. speaks of sorceresses 'die uf den *Brockisberg* varen,' Hoffm. zeitschr. 753; that is the earliest documentary evidence I know of a superstition that doubtless reaches to a far older time. Seats of justice the Harz must have

[1] '*Mons Bructerus*'! Only the Bructeri never lived there, but on the Westphalian Lippe; some without any reason connect the name Melibocus with the Brocken. What is the oldest documentary form of the name? Stieler 160 writes *Brockersb.;* others *Prockelsb.* (Proculus), *Brockelsb., Blockersb.;* Blocksb. (Brem. wtb. sub v. bloksbarg) may have arisen by mere softening of *r* into *l*, and can hardly have anything to do with the Swed. Blåkulla.

had more than one in the Mid. Ages; a salt spring it has still at Juliushall in Neustadt domain. But the name seems to cover a much wider area, as several hills in Mecklenburg (and no doubt in other parts of N. Germany) are called *blocksberge*, Mekl. jahrsber. 2, 114. 3, 189; also in Prussia (Tettau and Temme p. 264). Other trysts of witches I can only enumerate incompletely. The *Huiberg* near Halberstadt is still spoken of; in Thuringia they flock to *Horselberg* by Eisenach, or *Inselberg* by Schmalkalden; in Hesse to *Bechelsberg* or *Bechtelsberg* by Ottrau, an old Ziegenhain seat of justice; in Westphalia to *Köterberg* by Corvei, to *Weckingsstein* (Wedigenstein, where Wittekind or Wittich dwells) by Minden; in Swabia to the *Black Forest*, to *Kandel* in Breisgau, or to *Heuberg*[1] by Balingen, which is noticed as a witches' mount as early as 1506, and resembles the Huiberg above; in Franconia to *Kreidenberg* by Würzburg, and *Staffelstein* by Bamberg; and probably the Fichtelberg and the Silesian Riesengebirge have witches' haunts of their own. In Alsace are named *Bischenberg*, *Büchelberg* (conf. Bechelsb.), *Schauenberg* and *Kniebiss* (knee-biting, from the steepness, elsewhere Kniebrecher); in the Vosges, *Hupella*. The Swedish meeting-places are *Blåkulla* (Ihre says, an island rock between Småland and Öland, liter. black mount, a name it prob. shares with other heights),[2] and *Nasafjäll* in Norrland. The Norwegian witches also repair to *Blaakolle*, further to *Dovrefjeld*, *Lyderhorn* by Bergen, *Kiärru* in Tvedsogn, to *Vardö* and *Domen* in Finmarken; all such trysting-places are called *balvolde* (bale-wold, campus malus). In Denmark they say 'fare til *Hekkelfjelds*' (p. 1001), i.e. to Mt Hekla in Iceland, Heklufiall; also 'ride til *Trums*, fare til *Troms*,' meaning Trommenfjeld, a mountain on the Norw. island Tromsö, high up off the Finmark. The Neapolitan streghe hold their tryst *under a walnut-tree* near Benevento, which the people call the Beneventine wedding; on that very spot stood the holy tree of the Langobards (pp. 101. 649), so here again witchcraft stands clearly connected with old heathen worship. Witches' hills in Italy are the *Barco* di Ferrara, *Paterno* di Bologna, *Spinato* della Mirandola, *Tossale* di Ber-

[1] *Höwberg*, Paracelsi opera 2, 259. 260.

[2] Acc. to Joh. Westhovii Praefatio ad vitas sanctor., a wind and weather making merwoman was called *Blakulla*; Arnkiel 1, 35 sets up a sea-goddess *Blakylle*; Arvidsson 2, 302-5 has *berget bld*, the black mount.

gamo, and one, 'la croce del pasticcio,' whose situation I do not know. In France the *Puy de Dôme* near Clermont in Auvergne is renowned, and other districts have their hills. The Spanish hechizeras hold their dance *on the heath* of Baraona, *in the sand* of Sevilla, *on the plain* of Cirniegola; in Navarre on *Aquelarre*, said to mean in Basque 'goat's meadow.' The Servian witches dance 'na pometno guvno,' on the swept thrashingfloor, probably on a high mountain; those of Hungary on *Kopasz tetö* (the bald crown), a peak of the Tokay wine-hills,[1] with which the 'na Łysągorę' of the Polish witches (Woycicki 1, 17. 2, 77) agrees. A part of the Carpathians between Hungary and Poland is called in Pol. *babia gora*, old wives' mountain; I cannot say if witch-festivals are placed there. The Kormakssaga pp. 76. 204. 222 has a similar *Spâkonufell*, wise-woman's mount. The Lithuanians say, on the eve of St. John all the magicians come flying to Mt *Sžatria*, where a mighty sorceress *Jauterita* entertains them.[2] It is singular, how all over Europe the heathen's pilgrimages to feasts and sacrifices are by christians converted into this uniform sorcery, everywhere alike. Did the notion take shape in each nation by itself? or, what is less credible, was the fashion set in one place, and followed everywhere else?[3] (see Suppl.)

That the heathen in old Scandinavia already had the notion of enchantresses *riding* or *driving out at evening* and *night*, is clear from the Edda. As Heðinn roamed the forest alone in the *evening*, he fell in with a *tröllkona*, who offered him her fylgð (attendance, like a guardian valkyrja), but he declined it, Sæm. 146ª. A legend fraught with meaning is but slightly touched upon in Sn. 175: As Bragi the old (p. 1041) drove through a forest *late in the evening*, he met a *tröllkona*, who addressed him in a song and asked, who rideth there? She names to him her tröll names, and he, answering in song, tells her his poetic names. Hence an enchantress is called *qveld-riða*, evening-rider, Sæm.

[1] Szirmai's Notitia comitatus Zempleniensis, Budae 1803. p. 8; and Hungaria in parabolis p. 158-9.

[2] Conrl. Society's Communic., Mitau 1840. 1, 47ᵇ.

[3] Nocturnal meetings on mountains can also be conn. with other heathen notions: giants and elves reside on *mountains*. Pliny 5, 1 says of Mt Atlas: 'incolarum neminem interdiu cerni, silere omnia . . . noctibus micare crebris ignibus, Aegipanum Satyrorumque lascivia impleri, tibiarum ac fistularum cantu, tympanorum et cymbalorum sonitu strepere.'

143b, and *myrk-riða* 77a, by which monstrous mischievous *giant-women* are meant, wild women, waldminnes, iarnviðjur (p. 483), whom the heroes are bent on putting down: 'hefi ec qvaldar qveldriðor,' I have quelled the witches, says Atli. Their riding is called *gandreið*, vectura magica, Nialss. p. 195; gandr is properly wolf, they are said to have ridden *wolves* and bridled them with *snakes*: 'fann tröllkono, sû *reið vargi* ok hafði *orma î taumom*,' Sæm. 146a. 'Hyrrokin *reið vargi* ok hafði *höggorm at taumum*,' Sn. 66. A Rune figure (bautil 1157) represents a tröll riding a wolf, using a bent twig for reins. A Swed. folksong makes her ride on a *bear*, and use the *wolf* as a saddle, the snake as a whip: '*björnen* den så *red* hon uppå, *ulfven* den hade hon till sadel derpå, och *ormen* den hade hon till piska,' Sv. vis. 1, 77. Nor must we overlook, that the Servian *vila*, who has much more of the elf about her, rides a *stag*, and bridles him with a *snake*. Among names of enchantresses Sn. 210b has *Munnriða*, mouth-rider, perhaps holding the snake-bridle in her mouth? Another is *Munnharpa* (Biörn says, rigor oris ex gelu); both demand a more precise explanation, but anyhow -riða must refer to night-riding. One poet, Sn. 102, uses the circumlocution *qveldrunnin qven*, femina vespere excurrens. The Vestgöta-lag, like the Salic (p. 1045), speaking of insulting accusations, instances that of sorcery, p. 38: 'iak sa at *rêt a quiggrindu, lösharäþ* ok i *trolsham*, þa alt var iam rift nat ok dagher,' and p. 153 has almost the same words, with *lösgiurþ* added to löshareþ: I saw thee ride on the hurdle, loose-haired, loose-girt, in troll's garb, where day and night divide (in twilight); if we might read *qvîgindu*, it would be 'ride on the *calf*,' as in the MHG. poem, p. 1048. Neither this Law nor the Edda tells us of sorceresses assembling in troops at appointed places, yet the valkyrs ride together by twelves and twenties. But the idea of *night-riding* itself may be derived even from goddesses: the Hyndlu-lioð has for its groundwork, that *Freyja* seated *on her boar*, whose bristles glow in the gloom of night, and her sister *Hyndla* (canicula) on a wolf, ride up to holy Valhöll[1] (see Suppl.).

In Germany proper, successive stages can be pointed out. Before christianity, the old *giantesses* (etenins) may well have

[1] A magician, who was kveld-svæfr (evening-sleeper), bears the name *Kveldúlfr* Egilss. p. 8; it is like the OHG. *Nahtolf* by which N. renders Nocturnus.

been sorceresses amongst us also, as we still find such a one in our Heldenbuch (see p. 556), and a *giant* plays the host on a witches' hill, Lisch 5, 83. After the conversion, sorcery links itself with the discredited gods both foreign and domestic; not at once with the Devil yet, whose idea had scarce begun to take root among the people. The witches are of the *retinue of former goddesses*, who, hurled from their thrones, transformed from gracious adored beings into malign and dreaded ones, roam restless by night, and instead of their once stately progresses can only maintain stolen forbidden conferences with their adherents. Even when the bulk of the people was won over to the new doctrine, individual men would for a time remain true to the old faith, and perform their heathen rites in secret; but soon these pagan practices would cease as real facts, and abide in the memory and shaping fancy of mankind, and the more enduringly if they were connected with popular feasts and the permitted or prohibited usage about healings and poisonings. Performance, tradition, fancy were mixt up together, and no single century can possibly have been without the notion of illicit idolatrous magic, even if we are unable to specify the shape in which it entertained it. Amongst all christians the report of it lasted ineradicable, assuming a looser or firmer consistency, according as the Church indulged popular beliefs, or sought more sternly to suppress them. What she was determined to punish and exterminate, must gradually have been withdrawn from the mild realm of fancy, and assumed the harsh aspect of a horrible reality.

Enchanters and enchantresses (I will start with that) attach themselves to the spectral train of deities, to that Furious Host with which elvish and all manner of evil beings got associated: in the Vilk. saga cap. 328-9 the wild host of *Ostacia* (Ostansia, or whatever the genuine form may be) shews a significant connexion. But enchantresses would be ranged specially with goddesses, out of whom the christian teachers might make up a Roman *Diana*, a Jewish *Herodias*, but the populace never entirely dropt the traditional native names. How natural then, if dame *Holda*, if that *Freyja* or *Abundia* (whether she be *Folla* p. 308, or a Celtic deity) had formerly led the round dance of *elves* and *holden*, that she herself should now be made an *unholde* and be escorted by *unholden* (p. 926)! In the Norw. fairytale no. 15

the *troldkiäring* takes quite the place of dame Holda. In the Jeu d'Adans (supra p. 412n.) the three fays assemble on a meadow, where the *old women* of the town await them: 'or tost allons ent par illeuc, les vielles femes de le vile nous i atendent.' There did exist a fellowship then between fays and witches.

It perfectly agrees with the view propounded, that the Thuring. *Horselberg* is at once the residence of *Holda* and her *host* (pp. 456. 935. 959), and a trysting-place of witches (p. 1052). Keisersberg in Omeiss 36. 40 makes the night-faring wives assemble no otherwhere but in the *Venusberg* (p. 953), whereat is good living, dancing and hopping. Still more decisive are the passages quoted in the Appendix (Superst. C, int. 44; 10, 1; p. 194ª. D, 140 r.), by which it appears, that down into the tenth and into the 14th cent., *night-women* in the service of *dame Holda* rove through the air on appointed nights, mounted on beasts; her they obey, to her they sacrifice, and all the while not a word about any league with the Devil. Nay, these *night-women, shining mothers, dominae nocturnae, bonnes dames* (p. 287-8), in Hincmar '*lamiae* sive *geniciales feminae*,' were originally dæmonic elvish beings, who appeared in woman's shape and did men kindnesses; *Holda, Abundia*, to whom still a third part of the whole world is subject (pp. 283–8), lead the ring of dancers, and on the goddess's itinerant ship dances were trod (p. 260). It is to such dancing at heathen worship, to the airy *elf-dance* (p. 470), to the *hopping of will-o'-wisps* (p. 916),[1] that I trace primarily the idea of *witches' dances;* though festive dances at heathen May-meetings can be reckoned in with the rest. To christian zealots all *dancing* appeared sinful and heathenish, and sure enough it often was derived from pagan rites, like other harmless pleasures and customs of the common people, who would not easily part with their diversion at great festivals. Hence the old dancings at Shrovetide (p. 770n.), at the Easter fire and May fire, at the solstices, at harvest and Christmas; a minuter examination than has yet been made of the proceedings at these holidays would bring out many things more clearly. Afzelius 2, 5 informs us, that to this day stories are afloat in Sweden of *dances* and *reels* performed by the heathen round holy places of their gods: so

[1] The ignis fatuus is called *hexentanz* (Schm. 2, 148), Slovèn. *vezha*, prop. witch; even the dead were made to carry on dances.

wanton were they, yet so enticing, that the spectators at last were seized with the rage, and whirled along into the revelry. When chronicles of our Mid. Ages occasionally record the desecration of holy days by *wild dancing*, and that the penalty imposed was, to keep it up without ceasing for a whole year, DS. no. 231, this again expresses the disgust of the christians at the relics of heathenism, and resembles the perversion of Wuotan's march into the 'everlasting hunter's' chase.[1] Why Herodias was dragged into the circle of night-women, was just because she *played* and *danced*, and since her death goes booming through the air as the 'wind's bride.' In this ghostly band, then, popular fancy placed *human sorceresses* too, i.e. women of ill repute who clung to heathenism, fantastic old wives: 'Et si aliqua *femina* est, quae se dicat cum daemonum turba, in similitudinem mulierum transformata, *certis noctibus equitare* super quasdam bestias, et *in eorum* (daemonum) *consortio annumeratam* esse;' and: 'Quaedam *sceleratae mulieres* retro post Satanam conversae, daemonum illusionibus seductae, credunt se *nocturnis horis* cum Diana paganorum dea, vel cum Herodiade et innumera multitudine mulierum, *equitare super quasdam bestias*, et multa terrarum spatia *intempestae noctis silentio* pertransire, ejusque jussionibus *velut dominae* obedire, et *certis noctibus* ad ejus servitium evocari.'—Such was the earlier way of thinking about witches' rides;[2] and the names *naht-farâ, naht-frouwâ, naht-ritâ*, dating doubtless from the heathen time, agreed exactly with the ON. qveldriða, myrkriða on p. 1053-4. I cannot indeed produce

[1] The clergy represented dancing as a mimicry of the priestly procession, and likened it to the Jewish idolatry with the golden calf.

[2] The extract from Burchard, Superst. C (conf. Pref. to my First Ed. p. xxiv) can neither have been derived from the Council of Ancyra A.D. 314, which has no such passage in print or MS.; nor from Augustine, though it occurs in the Tract. de spiritu et anima cap. 28 (opp. ed. Bened. Antv. 1706. 6, 525) with 'et *Minerva*' added after Herodiade, for this is a spurious work, yet of so early a date (6th cent., thinks Biener, Zeitschr. f. gesch. rechtsw. 12, 123) that it is but little inferior in value for our purpose. Regino too (ed. Waschersl. 2, 371), the oldest genuine authority, has prob. drawn from it; then come Burchard in the 11th, and Ivo (11, 30) and Gratian in the 12th century. Albertus Mag. in Summa theol. 2, 31 (opp. 18, 180) has: 'cum Diana pag. dea, vel Herodiade et Minerva.' The passage is said to be also in an unpubl. Vita Damasi papae, and there to refer back to a Synod of Rome of 367 (Soldan p. 75). To me it makes no difference if both Ancyran council and Roman synod already mention the *night-faring Diana* and *Herodias;* for Diana, who even to the ancient Romans ruled the woods, the chase and the night, must no doubt have appeared to christian converts of the first centuries as a goddess of magic.

them from earlier than the 13th century, as Wh. 1, 82[b]: 'wil der (Machmêt) helfe sparn, sô helfen in die *naht-varn;* daz sint alter wîbe troume,' if M. grudge help, the night-farers help them. Ls. 3, 10: 'ez konde niemen bewarn, ich mües eine (alone) *ûz farn mit der naht-frouwen* (i.e. with the goddess); dô sprach ich zuo mîme gesellen: als schiere sô (as soon as) ez naht wirt, diu vart mich niht verbirt, ich sol lîden grôze nôt, bezzer wære mir der tôt. Ist aber daz mir wol ergât, so kum ich umb die hankrât, des enweiz ich aber niht. Mîn triu, dû solt mir ein lieht kleiben hin an etewaz, daz ich kunne dester baz komen her wider hein: kleib' ez an einen stein, oder kleib' ez an die want.' Notice that to the simple-minded man the woman represents her alleged expedition as a painful necessity.[1] In Vintler (Superst. G, l. 274) it is said: 'so farent etlich mit der (*nacht*) *far* auf kelbern und auf pecken (böcken) durch stain und durch stecke.' So *calves* and *he-goats* are those 'quaedam bestiae.' At p. 723 we saw the word *nachtfare* fittingly applied even to a star travelling in the sky. John of Salisbury, who lived in England and France (d. 1182), and believed in demonic influence, has a remarkable statement in his Policr. ii. 17: 'Quale est quod *nocticulam* (nocticolam? noctilucam?) quandam, vel *Herodiadem*, vel *praesidem noctis dominam, consilia* et *conventus de nocte* asserunt *convocare*, varia celebrari *convivia, ministeriorum species* diversis occupationibus exerceri, et nunc istos ad poenam trahi pro meritis, nunc illos ad gloriam sublimari; praeterea *infantes exponi lamiis*, et nunc *frustatim discerptos edaci ingluvie in ventrem trajectos congeri*, nunc *praesidentis miseratione* rejectos *in cunas reponi.* Quis vel caecus hoc ludificantium daemonum non videat esse nequitiam? quod vel ex hoc patet, quod mulierculis et viris simplicioribus et infirmioribus in fide ista proveniunt.' I will add some equally conclusive testimonies from various parts of France, and all of the 13th cent., to the character of these night excursions; their analogy to the preceding will not fail to be perceived. The Acta sanct. 32 Jul. p. 287[b] draw from a parchment MS. of the 13th cent. the following, which has also got into the Legenda Aurea cap. 102, though wanting in the older biographies of Germanus: 'Hospitatus (S. Germanus

[1] By *nightmare* (mar = horse) is meant, not the witch who rides out, but an elfin who rides, i.e. presses, on the sleeper, Superst. I, 878.

Autissiodor.) in quodam loco, cum post coenam *iterum mensa pararetur*, admiratus interrogat, cui denuo praepararent? Cui cum dicerent, quod *bonis* illis *mulieribus, quae de nocte incedunt*,[1] praepararetur, illa nocte statuit S. Germanus vigilare. Et ecce, videt multitudinem daemonum in mensa, in forma hominum et mulierum venientem. Qui eis praecipiens ne abirent, cunctos de familia excitavit, inquirens, si personas illas cognoscerent? qui cum omnes *vicinos* suos et *vicinas* esse dicerent, misit ad domos singulorum, daemonibus praecipiens ne abirent. Et ecce, omnes in suis lectulis sunt inventi. Adjurati igitur se daemones esse dixerunt, qui sic hominibus illudebant.'——Guilielmus Alvernus p. 1066: 'Idem et eodem modo sentiendum est tibi de aliis malignis spiritibus, quos vulgus *stryges* et *lamias* vocant, et *apparent de nocte in domibus* in quibus parvuli nutriuntur, eosque *de cunabulis raptos laniare* vel *igne assare* videntur:[2] apparent autem in specie *vetularum*. Vetularum autem nostrarum desipientia opinionem istam mirabiliter disseminavit et provexit, atque animis mulierum aliarum irradicabiliter infixit. Similiter et de *dominabus nocturnis*, quod *bonae mulieres* sint, et magna dona domibus quas frequentent per eas praestentur, mulieribus potissimum persuaserunt; et, ut ad unum dicam, pene omnes reliquias idololatriae retinuit et reservavit et adhuc promovere non cessat anilis ista fatuitas.'——Vincentius Bellovac. in Spec. mor. iii. 3, 27: 'Cum in quadam parochia homines talibus crederent, quidam ribaldi transfiguraverunt se in similitudinem *mulierum*, earum assumto habitu, et domum cujusdam rustici *cum tortiis* (torches) intrantes et *choreas ducentes* suppressa voce canebant Gallice 'un en prenes, cent en rendres,' Latine: unum accipite, centum reddite! et sic in oculis rustici domum ejus evacuaverunt omnibus bonis, dicentis uxori suae: tace, et claude oculos, divites erimus, quia *bonae res* sunt,[3] et centuplicabunt bona nostra.' And further on: 'Cum quaedam *vetula* volens blandire suo sacerdoti

[1] Is the OHG. *âgengun*, lamiae, Diut. 2, 174, to be explained by this nightly *going about*?

[2] When Demeter anointed the child Demophoon with ambrosia by day, fanned him with her sweet breath, *laid him in the fire* at night to consume all that was mortal in him, the boy throve, till his mother watched and saw and burst into a loud wail, then the miracle was interrupted, Hym. to Ceres 236—63. So Thetis anoints her infant Achilles, and *hides him in the fire*. Conf. however the παραφέρειν τὰ βρέφη διὰ τῆς φλογός, and *ponere juxta ignem*, p. 625.

[3] *Guotiu wihtir*, p. 442; conf. *unrighteous things*, p. 1031, sorcery.

diceret ei in ecclesia: domine, multum me debetis diligere, quia liberavi vos a morte: quia cum ego *vadebam cum bonis rebus, media nocte intravimus domum vestram cum luminaribus,* ego videns vos dormientem et nudum, cooperui vos, ne *dominae nostrae* viderent nuditatem vestram, quam si vidissent, ad mortem vos flagellari fecissent. Quaesivit sacerdos, quomodo intraverant domum ejus et cameram, cum essent fortiter seratae? Tunc ait illa, quod bene intrabant domum januis clausis. Sacerdos autem vocans eam intra cancellum, clauso ostio verberavit eam cum baculo crucis, dicens: exite hinc, *domina sortilega!* Et cum non posset exire, emisit eam sacerdos dicens: modo videtis quam fatuae estis, quae somniorum creditis vanitatem.' This priest goes very sensibly to work with the sorceress, and never dreams of baiting her as a criminal.——Gervase of Tilbury 3, 85: '*Lamiae* dicuntur esse mulieres quae *noctu domos* momentaneo discursu *penetrant,* dolia vel cophinos, cantharos et ollas perscrutantur, infantes ex cunis extrahunt, *luminaria accendunt,* et nonnunquam dormientes affligunt.' At 3, 93 he assures us he had known women who declared 'se dormientibus viris suis *cum coetu lamiarum* celeri penna mare transire, mundum percurrere, et si quis aut si qua in tali discursu Christum nominaverit, statim, in quocunque loco et quantovis periculo fecerit, corruere;' and one woman had fallen into the Rhone that way. 'Scimus quasdam in *forma cattorum* a furtive vigilantibus de nocte visas ac vulneratas in crastino vulnera truncationesque ostendisse.'——So then the witches travel in the nightly train of gracious dames,[1] for whom men spread tables, as they do for visitant fays and elves (pp. 409. 411. Superst. C, 198[d]), because they bring luck or multiply it, scrutinize the house-gear, bless the babes in the cradle. Heathenish the superstition was, for the name of Christ might not be uttered; but it did not pass for devilish yet. True, the notion of *kidnapping* (of which elves also were accused, p. 468) already mingles with it, and rises to the barbarous height of *roasting* and *devouring;* but this also hangs on myths about elves and goddesses, and had always been laid at the door of sorceresses. One passage even celebrates the compassion of the president and

[1] The Maid of Orleans, indicted for sorcery, was asked: 'si elle sçait rien de ceux *qui vont avecq les fées*'!

directress of the feast, she has the stolen sucklings carried back to their cradles (see Suppl.).

Crescentia, who had devoted herself to the nurture of children, is addressed as an *unholde*: 'Waz huotes dû *dâse*, ubele *hornblâse?* dû soldes billecher da *ce holze varn*, dan die megede hie bewarn; dû bist ein *unholde*, und sizist hie behangen mit golde.' She answers: 'Got weiz wol die sculde, ob ich bin ein *unholde*, oder ie dicheinis (any) zouberes gephlac,' Kaiserchr. 12199. Diemer p. 373 (imitated, Kolocz. 261-2). They believed then in the 12th cent. that unholden 'fared to the woods,' to the Wild Host, and 'blew horns,' like *Tutosel*, who as a tooting hooting *owl*, i.e. *strix*, travels in the Furious Host (p. 922); can 'hortuta,' a word of insult in the Vestgötalag p. 38, have been *hornþuta, hornþyta?* ON. þiota, ululare, Goth. þut-haúrn *σάλπιγξ*. The precise meaning of *dâse*, unless it be for dwâse, twâse, getwâs (spectre, p. 915), escapes me (see Suppl.). Such unholden are much more night-dames, bonae dominae, than devil's partners. The 'faring to *woods* and *forests*' expresses the sentence pronounced on banished outlawed men, whose dwelling is in the wilderness, among wolves, RA. 733, to whom the forest becomes mother (shuma ti mati!), conf. saltibus assuetus (p. 482). Vulgar opinion in Sweden to this day suspects *old women*, who live alone in the woods, of harbouring and sheltering wolves when they are hunted: they are called *vargamödrar*, wolf-mothers, and such a one is meant in the song of *Sämung* (Sæmîngr p. 305): 'inde satt *gamla djuramor*, rörde med näsa i brände,' within sat the old beasts'-mother, stirred with her nose the coals (Afzel. sagohäfder 1, 38. 43). The long-nosed hag here evidently melts into the notion of the *alrune* who mingles with wood-schrats, p. 404, and of the *wild wood-wife*, p. 432; she is like the ON. *iarnviðja*, p. 483.

But what to my mind completely establishes this milder explanation of witches' doings, which leaves the Devil out of the reckoning, is the collection of *conjuring spells* quoted in the Appendix, vol. 3. Taken mostly from witch-trials of the last few centuries, when the link between witch and devil was a long-established thing to the popular mind, they refer not to devilish doings at all, but everywhere to *elvish* or even *christian*. Some of them seem to be of high antiquity, of heathen origin, and to

have been handed down through a long course of oral tradition. Their power to hurt or heal is founded on faith in *elves* and *sprites*, whose place is afterwards filled by angels and holy names. As *elf* and *elfin*, *dwarf* and *she-dwarf*, *bilwiz* and *bilwizin* are invoked (p. 472), so in the old AS. formula (App. spell i.) '*êsa* gescot (âses' shot), *ylfa* gescot, *hægtessan* gescot' all stand side by side. Such formulas, whose words must long ago have become unintelligible to witches of the 16-17th cent., at once prove the injustice of the charge brought against them. It is to me a significant fact, that the imagination of the tortured witches still expressly owns to a journey 'auf *Venesberg* und in das *paradis*' (Mone's Anz. 7, 426), meaning therefore the ancient elvish or even christian abode of bliss, and not a devilish one.

The gradual intrusion of the *Devil* by whom, according to the Church's belief, men were *possessed* (p. 1015), is easily accounted for. The conception was radically foreign to the Teuton mind, which tried at first to naturalize it by transferring it to a female being (p. 990). But when in course of time the christian notion of a male devil got the upper hand, then all that had been told of Holda had in its turn to be applied to him. From their service and attendance on that unhold dame of night, the witches passed into the Devil's fellowship, whose sterner keener nature aggravated the whole relationship into something more wicked, more sinful. Those magic rides by night had merely rested on the general allegiance due to the people's ancient goddess, in whose train the women rode; but now that the Devil came to fetch the women, and carried them over hill and dale (pp. 1013. 1028), there grew up the idea of an *amorous alliance* between him and every single witch.

Connecting links may be found in abundance. Ghostly beings could form close and intimate ties with men; a long line of neighbourly elves links its destiny to the good or ill fortunes of a human family, home-sprites devote themselves to a man's service, and cling to him with obstinate and troublesome fidelity (p. 513); only these attachments are neither founded on formal compact, nor are they pernicious to man. An equally tender and an innocent relation subsists between him and the attendant guardian spirit given him at birth, p. 875.

The witches' devils have *proper names* so strikingly similar in

formation to those of elves and kobolds, that one can scarcely think otherwise than that nearly all devils' names of that class are descended from older folk-names for those sprites. A collection of such names, which I have culled out of witch-trials, may afford us a welcome glimpse into old elvish domestic economy itself. Some are taken from healing herbs and flowers, and are certainly the product of an innocent, not a diabolic fancy: *Wolgemut* (origanum), *Schöne* (bellis minor, daisy), *Luzei* (aristolochia), *Wegetritt* (plantago), *Blümchenblau* (conf. the marvelous flower, p. 971), *Peterlein* (parsley); exactly such are the names of two fairies in Midsum. N. Dr., *Peaseblossom* and *Mustardseed*. Names equally pretty are borrowed from the forest life of the sprites: *Grünlaub* (-leaf), *Grünewald, Lindenlaub, Lindenzweig* (-twig), *Eichenlaub* (oak), *Birnbaum* (pear), Birnbäumchen, *Rautenstrauch* (rue), *Buchsbaum* (box), *Hölderlin* (elder), *Kränzlein* (garland), *Spring-ins-feld, Hurlebusch, Zum-wald-fliehen;* clad in green (as the devil is in Kinderm. 101) appear the Scotch elves (Minstrelsy 2, 152-4. 160-4) and Norse huldre (Faye p. 42); foliage garlands must have been largely used in ancient sacrifices as well as in sorcery, oak-leaves in particular are enjoined on witches, and are used in brewing storms (Mone's Anz. 8, 129). As the Devil often presents himself in fair angelic guise ('in young man's sheen' occurs already in Ls. 3, 72), he receives such names as *Jüngling, Junker, Schönhans*, and feather-ornaments or wings are a favourite ascription, hence the names *Feder, Federhans, Federling, Federbusch, Weissfeder* (white-f.), *Straussfeder* (ostrich-f.), *Strausswedel* (-plume), *Grünwedel*. Of all the names confessed by witches, none is commoner than *Flederwisch* (Voigt's Abh. 62-8-9. 105-9. 113. 129), but folktales give that name to kobolds (Jul. Schmidt 158), and carousers in their cups used to drink 'to all *flederwischen!*' (Franz. Simpl. 1, 47. 57): by flederwisch we mean the end limb of a (goose) wing, used for the purpose of dusting, hence *Kehrwisch* also occurs as a devil's name, aptly denoting the rapid whisking to and fro of a spirit. Then again proper names of men are in great request, especially in the familiar fondling form which is also used for kobolds (p. 504): *Hans, Hänschen, junker Hans* (squire Jack), *Grauhans* (conf. Grayman, p. 993), *Grünhans, Hans vom busch; Heinrich, Grauheinrich, Hinze; Kunz, Künzchen* (conf. Kueni, p. 1003), *Konrad;*

Nickel, Grossnickel; Martin (p. 931), *Merten; Kaspar, Käsparle; Dewes, Rupel, Rüppel* (p. 504), *Rausch* (p. 517n.), *Wendel* (p. 375 last l.), *Hemmerlin* (p. 182), *Stöphel, junker Stof* (Christoph, the first syll. shortened with a purpose? conf. Stöpchen, p. 1003), some few of them equally savouring of the heathenish and the devilish; *Perlebitz* (in some Hessian trials Berlewitzchen, -witchen), probably the same as pilwitz (p. 472).[1] The following begin to look suspicious: *Leidenoth, Machleid, Unglück, Reicheher, Hintenhervor, Allerlei-wollust* (perh. a flower's name), *Schwarzburg, Dreifuss, Kuhfuss, Kuhöhrnchen, Dickbauch;* yet they may also turn upon the satyr-like shape of the schrats, or upon the weird and worrying nature of any intercourse with the demonic world. The old Easter-play supplies the following names, belonging at latest to the beginning of the 15th century: *Kottelrey, Rosenkranz, Krezlin, Federwisch, Raffenzan, Binkebank, Spiegelglanz, Schorbrant, Schoppenstak, Hellekrug,*[2] *Schorzemage;* they are easy to explain from what has gone before. Italian streghe call their devil *Martinello, Martinetto,* and again *Fiorino;* French trials furnish maistre *Persil, Verdelet, Verdjoli, Jolibois, Sautebuisson.* Two more fairies in Mids. N. Dream, *Moth* and *Cobweb,* are worth remembering. All these names have nothing in common with the names of the Jewish or Christian devil, except with those quoted pp. 988-9. 1003, and they are kobolds' names.[3] Some of the names in my list appear to belong equally to the witches themselves, just as elves have several common to both sexes. Thus the feminine names of plants and flowers are more suitable to sorceresses (see Suppl.).

Love-affairs between spirits and men arise out of their familiar intercourse. She-kobolds are nowhere mentioned, and we are never told of kobolds having designs upon women; elves on the contrary do carry off maidens, and men live in secret intimacy with elfins; thus Helgi became the father of Skuld by an *âlfkona,* Fornald. sög. 1, 32. 96. But except that Elberich having made himself invisible overpowers Otnit's mother, and an *âlfr* does the

[1] The Hessian dialect often inserts an *r*: at Cassel they call bellevue berlevue.

[2] Mone's Schausp. p. 131 has *hellekruke* for witch.

[3] A few times the hellish wooer is called Lucifer or Belzebok, Trier. act. 114; where the name *jamer* is also given, which I do not quite understand: is it jammer unpleasant [as in jammer-schade, a sad pity], or jammer ailment, epilepsy?

like to king Aldrian's wife and begets Högni, I cannot think of any instance of such amours as lie at the bottom of all the witch-stories. The notions of incubus and succubus seem to me not of German origin, though afterwards they got mixed up with those of elf and night-spirit. An AS. manuscript in Wanley, either of the 12th, 11th, or some earlier cent., speaks of 'monnom, þe deofol mid hæmð.' In the later doctrine about witches their prostitution is an essential feature, it seals the compact, and gives the Devil free control over them: in a pure maid he can have no part.[1] Without this abomination we never come across a witch at all.[2]

It is a question, at what period witches' covenants and amours are first mentioned in Germany. No doubt the first impulse to them was given by the persecution and consequent spread of *heresies*, which after the middle of the 13th cent. *came from Italy and France into Germany*. However guilty or innocent the heretics may have been, report, magnifying and distorting, charged their assemblies with idolatrous excesses, whose affinity to witches' doings is beyond dispute. Among the heretics themselves, with their seclusion, reserve, and constantly repeated success in attaching new disciples and adherents, some ancient departures from orthodox faith and ritual kept stubbornly reproducing themselves; as persistently did calumnies start up against them. They were accused of adoring a beast or beast's head, which presently turned into the Devil, who became visible, now as a black spirit, now as a bright beguiling angel, his favourite animal shape being that of a he-cat, or else a toad. At their meetings, it was said, they slaughtered children and kneaded their blood in flour or ashes, and after extinguishing the lights, practised together the lusts of the flesh. Newly admitted members were *marked by the prick of a needle*, the while they cursed their Maker, and signified their faith and homage to the Evil one, as to worldly rulers, by a kiss.[3] Even in the less offensive teach-

[1] 'Le démon ne peut faire pacte avec une vierge,' Mich. Hist. de Fr. 5, 68. 159. 160.

[2] Greek antiquity had its *fables* about the intercourse of gods with mortals (p. 343), and so had our heathenism about the union of heroes with swan-wives and elfins; at last the far grosser conception could find credence, of a *literal* commerce of the Devil with mankind!

[3] Soldan's Geschichte der Hexenprocesse pp. 103—146.

ing and practice of some heretics there could not fail to be a mixture of heathen things with christian; the church's zeal had to bestir itself at once against new errors of doctrine and against remnants of heathenism that were combined with them. Along with heretic-prosecutions went rumours of diabolic compacts and conferences, which the populace connected with their ancient belief in dæmonic beings. Traditions of certain men being leagued with the Devil had already circulated in the West, at all events from the 10th cent. (p. 1017); the more readily would they now be extended to women. The earliest certain mention of an intrigue between witch and devil is of the year 1275 under an inquisitor at Toulouse (Soldan p. 147); the first half of the 14th cent. seems to have established more firmly, especially in Italy, the belief in a diabolic sisterhood (secta strigarum). Bartolus (d. 1357) delivered a judgment on a witch of Ortha and Riparia in Novara bpric.,[1] the charge was novel to him, and he appeals to theologians as to the nature of the crime; from the whole tenor of his sentence we may assume that seldom or never had a witch been tried in the Milanese before. Amongst other things he says: 'Mulier striga sive lamia debet igne cremari, confitetur se crucem fecisse ex paltis et talem crucem pedibus conculcasse . . . se *adorasse diabolum, illi genua flectendo* . . . pueros tactu stricasse et fascinasse, adeo quod mortui fuerunt. Audivi a sacris quibusdam theologis, has mulieres quae lamiae nuncupantur tactu vel visu posse nocere etiam usque ad mortem fascinando homines seu pueros ac bestias, cum habeant animas infectas, *quas daemoni voverunt*.'——Between 1316 and 1334 pope John XXII had issued a bull without date, ordering the property of convicted sorcerers to be confiscated like that of heretics. What was then done by inquisitors and judges Soldan has subjected to a minute investigation (pp. 160—210), and I need only single out one or two facts. Alfonsus de Spina in his Fortalitium fidei (written about 1458) lib. 5 informs us: 'Quia nimium abundant tales *perversae mulieres* in Delphinatu et Gaschonia, ubi se asserunt concurrere de nocte in quadam planitie deserta, ubi est *aper* quidam *in rupe*, qui vulgariter dicitur el *boch de Biterne*, et quod ibi conveniunt *cum candelis accensis, et adorant illum aprum*, osculantes eum in

[1] Printed in Joh. Bapt. Ziletti consilior. select. in criminal. causis, Francof. 1578 fol., tom. 1, consil. 6.

ano suo; ideo captae plures earum ab inquisitoribus fidei, et convictae, ignibus comburuntur; signa autem combustarum sunt depicta, qualiter scilicet adorant cum candelis praedictum *aprum*, in domo inquisitoris Tholosani in magna multitudine camisearum, sicut ego propriis oculis aspexi.'——Read throughout *caper* for aper, as bock, boc, bouc evidently means the former. Adoring and kissing of the he-goat or he-cat was just the charge brought against heretics, whose very name (ketzer, cathari) some derived from that circumstance.[1] This parody of divine worship may either be connected with *goat-sacrifices* of the heathen (p. 52) and the sacredness of that animal, or explained by the goat's feet ascribed to the devil from of old (p. 995). *Kissing the toad* (Soldan p. 133-6) is wonderfully like those conditions necessary to the release of 'white women' (p. 969); here heretical opinions coincide with superstition. In 1303 a bishop of Coventry was accused at Rome of a number of heinous crimes, amongst others 'quod *diabolo homagium fecerat*, et eum fuerit osculatus in tergo'; Boniface 8 acquitted him (Rymer 2, 934 old ed.). The same charge is commonly brought against the later witches. Dr. Hartlieb in 1446 mentions 'abjuring God and giving oneself up to three devils,' Superst. H, cap. 34.

For four centuries, beginning with the 14th; what with the priestly Inquisition, with the formality of the Canon and Civil law process simultaneously introduced in the courts, and to crown all, with Innocent 8's bull of 1484 (MB. 16, 245-7), as well as the Malleus Maleficarum[2] and the tortures of the criminal court; the prosecutions and condemnations of witches multiplied at an unheard-of rate, and countless victims fell in almost every part of Europe. The earlier Mid. Ages had known of magicians and witches only in the milder senses, as legendary elvish beings, peopling the domain of vulgar belief, or even as demoniacs, not

[1] 'Catari dicuntur a cato, quia osculantur posteriora cati, in cujus specie, ut dicunt, apparet eis Lucifer,' Alan. ab Insulis (d. 1202) contra Valdenses, lib. 1. A better name for heretics was *boni homines*, *bons hommes* (Soldan p. 131), not, I think, because so many were of good condition, but in harmony with other meanings of the term (conf. supra p. 89). At the same time it reminds us of the ghostly *good women*, bonae dominae, p. 287, as 'francs hommes' does of the franches pucelles, p. 410 n. Even the *gute holden* are not to be overlooked.

[2] Composed 1487 by the two inquisitors appointed by Innocent, Heinr. Institoris in Alemannia and Jac. Sprenger at Cologne, with the help of Joh. Gremper, priest at Constance. Soon followed by episcopal mandates, e.g. at Regensburg 1491-3 (MB. 16, 241-3).

as actual apostates from God and malefactors arraigned before a court of justice. A good deal has been made of the Annales Corbeienses, which do expressly state under the year 914, 'multae sagae combustae sunt in territorio nostro'; but these Annals were not written till 1464, and have of late been totally discredited. Several ancient Codes lay penalties on sorcery;[1] but all the cases that occurred had for their basis real crimes, murder, poisoning; the stria is a 'herbaria,' i.e. venefica;[2] for alleged storm-raising few can have forfeited their lives. Especially worthy of note are the punishments denounced against precisely those persons who from a vain belief in sorcery have burnt or put to death either man or woman;[3] not sorcery, but the slaying of supposed sorcerers is what the enlightened law pronounces heathenish and diabolic. On the mere ground of a night-excursion with 'unholden' nobody dreamt of bringing a criminal charge against women; that father confessor of the 13th cent. (p. 1060) refutes the confessions of his 'domina sortilega' by rational argument.[4] But when once, by a fatal confusion of

[1] Lex Sal. 22. Lex Rip. 83. Lex Visigoth. vi. 2, 2. 3, 4. Lex Alam. add. 22. Capitul. A.D. 789 cap. 18. Capit. ii. A.D. 805.

[2] Meichelbom no. 683: A.D. 853, a girl at Freising, *venefica*; A.D. 1028, '*malefica mulier* artes maleficas cum tribus aliis mulieribus exercens,' Pertz 6, 146; A.D. 1074 at Cologne, 'mulier homines plerumque *magicis artibus* dementare infamata,' Lamb. schafn. p. 375.

[3] Capit. Caroli de part. Sax. 5: 'si quis a diabolo deceptus crediderit secundum morem Paganorum, virum aliquem aut feminam strigam esse, et homines comedere, et *propter hoc ipsam incenderit*, vel carnem ejus ad comedendum dederit, *capitis sententia punietur*.' Lex Roth. 379: 'nullus praesumat aldiam alienam aut ancillam quasi strigam *occidere*, quod *christianis mentibus nullatenus est credendum* nec possibile est ut hominem mulier vivum intrinsecus possit comedere.' How the wisdom of Charles and Rothar shines by the side of Innocent's blind barbarous bull! Those 'sagae combustae' in Westphalia, if the statement be worth believing, were hardly condemned by the courts, but more likely sacrificed by the mob to such heathenish superstition as the laws quoted were trying to stem. In our own day the common folk in England, France and Belgium *take it upon themselves* to throw suspected witches into fire or the pond (Horst's Zauberbibl. 6, 368. 372-4). White's Selborne p. 202: 'the people of Tring in Hertfordshire would do well to remember that no longer ago than 1751 they seized on two superannuated wretches, crazed with age and overwhelmed with infirmities, on a suspicion of witchcraft; and by trying experiments drowned them in a horsepond.' The Gazette des tribunaux no. 3055, June 4, 1835 relates a trial of supposed magicians, whose family had the hereditary faculty of charming lice away.

[4] It is true the Sachsensp. ii. 13, 7 has: 'svelk *kerstenman ungelovich* (unbelieving) is, unde mit *tovere* umme gat oder mit vorgiftnisse (poisoning), unde des verwunnen wirt, den sal man *upper hort bernen*.' Schwabensp. 149. Wackern. 174. Lassb. Gosl. stat. 38, 20. The words 'oder wif' standing after 'kerstenman' in Homeyer, are a later insertion: they are wanting in other laws, and are contradicted by the pron. 'den,' him, which follows. That these docs. speak of wizards, not yet of witches, seems to fit better their age and spirit; yet it must be noted, that they already link apostacy with witchcraft, conf. Soldan 172—4. Biener, in

sorcery with heresy, the notion gained a footing that every witch renounces God and becomes the Devil's, everything assumed a new aspect: as the Devil's ally, apart from any crimes she might have committed, she was deserving of death, and her sin was one of the greatest and horriblest. But from that time the earlier notion of possession by the devil almost entirely ceased: imagination had taken a new direction.

Witch-trials of the 16-17-18th centuries have been amply made known, of the 15th few completely.[1] One need only have read two or three of them: everywhere an unaccountable uniformity of procedure, always the same result. At first the accused denies; *tortured*,[2] she confesses what all those doomed before her have confessed, and without delay she is condemned and *burnt* (incinerata, as the Malleus expresses it). This agreement in depositions of imaginary facts is to be explained by the traditional illusions that filled the popular fancy. I will here attempt to summarize all the essential points (see Suppl.).[3]

Zeitschr. f. gesch. rechtsw. 12, 126, would limit the penal fire of the Sachsensp. to cases where the spiritual court hands the sinner over, as impenitent, to the secular.

[1] Little can be gleaned from a Tractatus de phitonico contractu fratris Thomae Murner, Friburgi Brisg. 1499. Murner tells how in childhood he was crippled by a witch.

[2] The hangman's formula ran: 'thou shalt be tortured so thin that the sun will shine through thee!' RA. 95. Diut. 1, 105.

[3] Witch-trials at Mainz of 1505-11, in Horst's Zauberbibl. 4, 210—8; at Freiburg of 1546 and 1627—35, ed. H. Schreiber, Freib. 1836; at Quedlinburg of 1569—78, in G. C. Voigt's Gemeinnütz. abh. Leipz. 1792 pp. 59—160; at Trier of 1581, in Trier. chronik 1825, 10. 196 seq., and of 1625 ib. 108 seq.; at Nördlingen of 1590—4, ed. Weng, Nördl. 1838; in Elsass of 1615—35, in Lit. bl. der börsenh. Hamb. 1835 nos. 1092-3; at Eichstätt of 1590 and 1626—37, repr. Eichst. 1811; at Wemdingen of 1620, in Mone's Anz. 7, 425—7; at Dieburg of 1627, in Steiner's Gesch. von Dieb., Darmst. 1820, 67—100; at Buhl of 1628-9, in Mone's Anz. 8, 119—132; at Siegburg of 1636, in P. E. Schwabe's Gesch. v. Siegb., Col. 1826, 225—241; in Brandenburg of the 15–18th cent., in Märk. forsch. 1, 238—265; at Cammin of 1679, in Pommer. provinzialbl. Stettin 1827, 1, 332—365; at Freising of 1715—7, in Aretin's Beitr. 4, 278—327. Useful extracts from Swabian trials of the 15th cent. are in the notorious Malleus malefic. (first printed 1489); from Lorrainian of 1583—90, in Nic. Remigii daemonolatria; and from Burgundian (en la terre de sainct Oyan de Joux) of 1588-9, in Henry *Bogvet's* Disc. execrable des sorciers, Rouen 1603, repr. Lyon 1610. Less important is S. Meiger de panurgia lamiarum, Hamb. 1587. 4. On Scandinavia: Nyerup's Udsigt over hexeprocesserne i Norden (Skand. Lit.-selskabs skrifter 19, 339—394. 20, 1–42), in which an extr. from Lem on Norweg. sorcery (19, 385) is specially instructive; Trollväsendet i Dalarna, åren 1668—73, in J. M. Bergman's Beskrifning om Dalarne, Fahlun 1822. 1, 208—19. I have also read Girol. Tartarotti del congresso notturno delle lamie, Rover. 1749. 4; and C. F. de Cauz de cultibus magicis, Vindob. 1767. 4: two painstaking books, the first revelling in Ital. prolixity; D. Tiedemann's prize essay De artium magicarum origine, Marb. 1787 was of less use to me. On the Netherl.: Scheltema's Geschiedenis der heksenprocessen, Haarl. 1829 I had not at hand; Cannaert's Bydragen

The Devil appears in the shape of a fine young man, gaily *plumed* and amorous; not till too late does the witch observe the *horsefoot* or *goosefoot* (wilde pflotte füsse, Nördl. hexenpr. 35). He then compels her to abjure God (p. 818), *baptizes* her over again, making her choose sponsors, gives her a new name, and reveals his own. A *mark* is printed on her body (p. 1077), and the place has no feeling ever after; in some cases hair is plucked out from the front of the head. He comes sometimes as a mouse, goat, crow or fly, but soon changes into human shape. Even after repeated dalliances the witch receives but small presents of money; what he gave as glittering coin is by daylight muck and dirt.[1] The main thing is, that on certain days the Devil fetches her, or appoints her to go, to *nightly feasts*, which are held in company with other witches and devils. After anointing her feet and shoulders with a *salve*,[2] or tying a girdle round her, she bestrides a *stick, rake, broom, distaff, shovel, ladle* or *oven-fork*, and muttering a spell, flies up the chimney, and away through the air over hill and dale.[3] A *dehselrite*, Helbl. 1, 1196 (p. 1049), a *fork-rider, besom-rider* all mean a witch, so does *quosten-pinderin*, sash-binder, Clara Hätzl. lxvii[b] (quaste = perizoma, cingulum). A 14th cent. story told in Herm. von Sachsenheim (Wackern. lb. 1005-6) makes an old woman at Urach anoint with salve the *calf* on which she is to ride. If the hellish wooer comes to fetch the witch, his seat on the stick is in front, and hers behind; or he is a goat, and she mounts him; or she drives

tot het oude strafregt in Vlaenderen, Bruss. 1829, repr. Gend 1835, has interesting extrs. 475—91; some fresh facts are collected in Schaye's Essai historique, Louv. 1834, pp. 175—202. There is a crowd of other books: Horst's Dämonomagie, Frankf. 1818, his Zauberbibliothek, Mainz 1821–6, and Walter Scott's Demonol. and witchcraft, I have hardly used at all; both, based on diligent compilation, lack true criticism and scholarship; besides, Horst's work is turgid and bad in taste, Scott's inexact and careless. Most of the above are far surpassed by Soldan's Geschichte der hexen-processe, Stuttg. 1843, a work of whose value I give a fuller estimate in my Preface.

[1] Everything divine the devil turns *topsyturvy*, p. 986: his gold turns into filth; whereas, when gods or benignant beings bestow leaves, chips, or pods, these turn into sheer gold, pp. 268. 275. Hence, when the devil sits, when witches stand up or dance, etc., they *look the wrong way* (upside down?).

[2] Unguentum Pharelis, made of herbs, Superst. H, c. 32; but the usual witches' salve is prepared from the fat of infants killed while yet unbaptized: 'unguentum ex membris puerorum interemptorum ab eis ante baptismum,' Malleus malef. ii. 1, 3 (ed. 1494, 51[d]).

[3] Simpl. bk 2, cap. 17-8 describes such a flight; a listener mounted on a bench gives chase, and in a twinkling gets from the Fulda Buchenwald to Madgeburg cathedral.

horses that come out of the ground. Older accounts have it, that the devil takes her *inside his cloak*, and carries her through the air, whence she is called *mantelfahre, mantelfahrerin*. At the trysting-place are many more witches, each with her demon lover; they are mostly neighbour women, often such as have long been dead, some (the superior sort) muffled and masked. But their wooers are mere servants of the Chief Devil, who in *goat-shape*, but with black human face, sits silent and solemn on a *high chair* or a large *stone table* in the midst of the ring, and all do him reverence by kneeling and kissing. When the Chief Devil takes a particular fancy to one woman, she is named the *witches' queen*, and ranks above all the rest,[1] answering to that Norse trölla konûngr, p. 1043. The undelightful meal is illumined by black torches, all kindled at a light that burns between the horns of the great goat. Their viands *lack salt* and *bread*,[2] they drink out of cows' hoofs and horses' heads. Then they relate what mischief they have wrought, and resolve on new: if their misdeeds fail to satisfy the Devil, he beats them. After the feast,[3] that neither fills nor nourishes, the *dance* begins: up in a tree sits the *musician*, his fiddle or bagpipe is a *horse's head* (p. 1050), his fife a cudgel or a cat's tail. In dancing the partners face outwards, turning their backs to each other: in the morning you may see a *circular track in the grass*, shewing the print of cows' and goats' feet. The dance, according to Hessian trials of 1631, is like that of the sword-dancers (p. 304); we often hear of one of the women wearing the *güldne schuh* on her right foot, would she be queen or commandress? Martin von Amberg speaks of 'making *red shoes* (schuechel) for the trut'; to dance in? When the ring-dance is over, they beat each other with swingle-staves and mangle-bats, and practise lewdness. At last the *great goat burns himself to ashes*, and these are distributed among the witches to work mischief with. A young untried witch is not at once admitted to the feast and dance, but set on one side to tend *toads* with a *white wand*;[4] at home also they breed and maintain these

[1] Laffert's Relationes criminales, Celle 1721. pp. 52-4. Horst's Dämonom. 2, 376-7.

[2] Yet they eat bread baked on a Sunday, meat salted on Sunday; and drink wine put in cask on Sunday.

[3] Distinction of ranks is kept up too: the rich sit down to table first, and drink out of silver goblets, then the poor out of wooden bowls or hoofs.

[4] O. Fr. poets also put peeled wands in the hands of witches: 'une vielle

animals: the Hätzlerin lxviii[a] already chides a witch as 'inhitzige *krotensack!*' Such a novice witch the Devil inverts, and sticks a candle in a part of her person, Thür. mitth. vi. 3, 69. They go home the same way as they came: the husband, who all the while has mistaken a staff laid in the bed for his sleeping spouse, knows nothing of what has passed. Whoever happens to get sight of a witches' dance, need only utter the name of God or Christ: it all stops in a moment, and disappears.[1] The harm that witches do is chiefly to the cattle and crops of their neighbours. They know how to drain other people's cows of every drop of milk, without coming near them, Superst. G, line 132: they stick a *knife* in an *oaken post*, hang a *string* on it, and make the milk flow out of the string (Reusch's Samland p. 66); or they drive an *axe* into the *doorpost*, and milk out of the *helve;* they draw milk out of a spindle, out of a suspended *handkerchief*.[2] They turn good milk blue, or bloody-colour; their compliments on entering your house are bad for the milk: if you were just going to churn, the butter will not come, Sup. I, 823. Hence any witch is called *milch-diebin* (as the butterfly is a milk or butter thief), *milch-zauberin, molken-stehlerin, molken-töverscbe,* whey-bewitcher.[3] Here again comes to light the connexion between witches, elves and butterflies, for vulgar opinion blamed dwarfs also for drawing milk from the udders of kine: ON. *dverg-speni* means papilla vaccarum vacua. If your milk is bewitched, whip it in a pot, or stir it about with a sickle: every lash or cut makes the witch wince, Sup. I, 540. A Wetterau superstition takes this shape: when a beast is bewitched, they set the frying-pan on, and chop into it with the grass-chopper behind bolted doors; the first person who comes after that is the witch. The power of witches to draw *milk* and *honey* from a neighbour's house to their own is already noticed by old Burchard, Sup. C, p. 199[d]. Lashing the brooks with their brooms, squirting water up in the air, shooting gravel, scattering sand toward sunset, witches

barbelée, qui porté a *verge pelée* plus de qatre vingts ans,' Renart 28286; conf. Méon 4, 478, 'remest ausi monde com la *verge* qui est *pelée*.'

[1] DS. no. 251. Wolf's Niederl. sagen 245. 381-2. Wodana xxxvi.

[2] So, by magic, *wine* is struck out of the *post*, Superst. G, line 262; conf. the legend of Doctor Faust.

[3] On the eve of S. Philip and S. James, i.e. May 1, people in the I. of Rügen run about the fields with large fire-bladders: this they call *molkentöverschen brennen* Rugian. landgebr. cap. 248. '*milchdiebin* und unhold,' H. Sachs iii. 3, 5[d].

bring on *storm and hail* (p. 909), to beat down their neighbour's corn and fruit. For the same purpose they are said to boil bristles or else oak-leaves in pots, or *strew* some of those *devil's-ashes on the fields*. These are the *lightning* or *weather witches*, whose doings will come to be treated more fully hereafter. It is said they *stroke* or *strip* the *dew off the grass*, and with it do harm to cattle, Sup. I, 1118; also that early before sunrise they skim the dew off other people's meadows, and carry it to their own, to make the grass grow ranker; hence they may be recognised by their large clumsy feet, and are called *thau-streicher* (in E. Friesland *dau-striker*), though other suspicious characters, even men, are called the same bad name. This clearly hangs together with the dew-brushing after the nightly elf-dance, and the dew the valkyrian steeds shake out of their manes; only here it is perverted to evil. A witch, by binding up the legs of a footstool, can heal the broken bones of one who is absent. If she is present at a wedding, just as the blessing is pronouncing, she snaps a padlock to, and drops it in the water: this is called *tying up the laces;* until the padlock can be fished up and unlocked, the marriage proves unfruitful. Witches can kill men by dealing pricks to *images* or *puppets;* in churchyards they dig up the *bodies of young children*, and cut the *fingers* off;[1] with the fat of these children they are supposed to make their salve. This seems to be their chief reason for entrapping children; to the sorceress of older times kidnapping was imputed far more freely (p. 1059). From the Devil's commerce with witches proceeds no human offspring, but elvish beings, which are named *dinger* (things, conf. wihtir, p. 440), *elbe, holden*, but whose figure is variously described: now as butterflies, then as humblebees or queppen (quab, burbot), and again as caterpillars or worms. Even an OHG. gloss in Graff 1, 243 has: *alba*, brucus, locusta quae nondum volavit. The enigmatic beetle and larva shape is very appropriate to such beings.[2] They are called by turns *good*

[1] *Fingers* of a babe unborn are available for magic: when *lighted*, they give a flame that keeps all the inmates of a house asleep; equally useful is the thumb cut off the hand of a hanged thief. Conf. Schamberg de jure digitor. p. 61-2, and Praetorius on thieves' thumbs, Lips. 1677. The Coutume de Bordeaux § 46 treats of magic wrought with dead children's hands. Thief's hand was the name of a plant, p. 1029.

[2] The caterpillar is also called *devil's cat* (p. 1029), and a witch, like the dragonfly, *devil's bride, devil's doxy*. The Finn. *Ukon koira* (Ukkonis canis) means papilio

and *bad things, good* and *bad elves, good*[1] and *bad holden, holderchen, holdiken.* Witches use them to produce illness and swellings in man and beast, by conjuring them into the skin and bones. But they also make them settle on forest-trees, they dig them in under elder-bushes: the 'elves,' in gnawing away the wood of the aspen, waste away the man at whom they are aimed. The same witch as set the 'holden' on a man must take them off again; when she wants them, she goes into the wood and shakes them off the trees, or digs them out from under the elder (the *elves' grave*). You may know a man into whom holden have been charmed, by there being no manikin or baby (*κόρη*, pupa) visible in his eyes, or only very faintly (Voigt pp. 149. 152). This is like the devil's drawing a toad on the pupil of a witch's left eye. The nine species of holden I shall specify in the chap. on Diseases. But not unfrequently the demon lover himself appears in the form of an *elf* or *butterfly.* Their daughters born in human wedlock the witches have to promise to the devil at their birth, and to bring them up in his service; at great assemblies they present to him any children they have, lifting them up backwards. Sometimes they sacrifice *black cattle* to him. They love to gather where *roads divide;*[2] like the devil (p. 999), they can pop in and out of houses *through the keyhole* (Sup. G, line 106-7. Tobler 146[a]); where three lights burn in a room, the witch has power; ringing of bells they cannot bear. Before the judge they must not be allowed to touch the *bare ground,* or they will change themselves in a moment; they are incapable of shedding a tear; thrown into water, they *float on the top,*[3] upon which fact the

or larva papilionis, *tuonen koira* (mortis canis) and *suden korenda* (lupi vectis) butterfly, and *Ukon lehmä* (U. vacca) another insect. Swed. *trollslända* (daemonis fusus) butterfly. In the Grisons they call a caterpillar *balusse*, in Switz. (acc. to Stalder) *palause*, which is our old acquaintance pelewise, pilweise, p. 472-5. A mythic meaning also lurks in the OHG. *huntes-satul* (eruca), Graff 6, 167, as in ON. *geit-hamr* (vespa).

[1] Called *gute holden* even when harmful magic is wrought with them, Braunschw. anz. 1815, p. 726 seq. In the Malleolus I find: 'vermes nocivi qui vulgariter dicuntur *juger*,' and 'Alemannico nomine *juger* nuncupantur, sunt albi coloris et nigri capitis, sex pedum, in longitudine medii digiti.' Is *jug* the same thing as *gueg* (pp. 183. 692)? Many other designations of the phalaenae overlap those of will o' wisps or of wichtels, as *zünsler*, from fluttering round a light, *land-surveyors*, (p. 918), *night-owls*, etc.

[2] At *cross-roads* the devil can be called up, so can the Alraun.

[3] Pliny 7, 2 of sorcerers: 'eosdem praeterea *non posse mergi* ne veste quidem degravatos.' We are told several times, that the devil, after promising to bring the witches in the water an iron bar to make them sink, brings them only a fine needle.

ancient usage of the witches' bath (ducking) was founded, once a divine ordeal, RA. 925. If at the beginning of the action they contrive to catch the judge's eye, he turns soft-hearted, and has not the power to doom them.

Now it is a characteristic fact, that witches, with all their cunning and the devil's power to boot, remain sunk in misery and deep poverty: there is no instance to be found of one growing rich by sorcery, and making up for the loss of heavenly bliss by at least securing worldly pleasure, a thing that does occur in tales of men who sign themselves away to the fiend (p. 1017). These hook-nosed, sharp-chinned, hang-lipped, wry-toothed, chap-fingered beldams[1] practise villainy that never profits them, at most they may gratify a love of mischief. Their dalliance with the devil, their sharing in his feasts, never procures them more than a half-enjoyment[2] (see Suppl.).

This one feature might have opened people's eyes to the basis of all sorcery. The whole wretched business rested on the imagination and compulsory confessions of the poor creatures. Of *fact* there was none, save that they had a knowledge of medicines and poisons, and quickened their dreams[3] by the use of salves and potions. Called upon to name their confederates, they often mentioned dead persons, to shield the living or to evade inquiry; any vile thing they stated was set down as gospel truth. We read of witches confessing the murder of people who turned out to be alive.[4] It never occurred to the judges to consider, how on earth it happened that innumerable meetings of witches, all at well-known accessible places, had never been surprised by witnesses whom their road must have taken that way. By what special licence from God in those times should a pack of miscreants previously unheard of nestle down all of a sudden in towns and villages all over the country!

Long before witches were tortured, great criminals had been

[1] 'Crooked nose and pointed chin, look to find the fiend therein!' I find a parallel in ON. names, Hengikepta, Grôttintanna, Loðinnfingra, Sn. 220-1.

[2] Berthold p. 58: 'sô gênt etelîche mit bœsem zôuberlehe umb, daz si wænent eins gebûren (boor's) sun oder einen kneht bezoubern. pfî dû rehte tœrin! war umbe bezouberst dû einen grâven oder einen künec niht (fool, why not bewitch a count, a king)? sô wærestu ein küneginne!' They say a witch gets three farthings richer every seven years, Simplic. 625.

[3] *Alter wibe troume*, Wh. 1, 82ᵃ. *kerlinga villa*, Sæm. 169.

[4] Frommann de fascinatione p. 850. Montaigne notices the same fact, livre 3, chap. 11.

put to bodily sufferings intended to wring from them a confession of their guilt. The Lex Visig. iii. 4, 10-11 already speaks of 'torquere'; and the triangular beam on which the accused had to ride was called equuleus, poledrus, whence comes our *folter*, Fr. poultre, poutre. That ON. extortion of a full declaration, '*pîna* til sagna' p. 1043, need not have been borrowed from witch-trials.

The signing away to the devil, abjuring of God and adoring of the *goat* in witch-stories seems to be of heretic origin; at the same time the abjurer parodies the Abrenuntiatio Diaboli enjoined on catechumens;[1] in every other point the heathen element preponderates. Even the goat, and the offering of *black* beasts (pp. 52. 493. 1009), cannot but remind us of the old worship of gods; it is remarkable that a Dalecarlian tradition makes the devil not occupy the chair of state, but *lie under the table, bound with a chain* (just as with those spinsters in German legend, p. 1011). The witches there have much to tell about this chain: when its links wear out, an angel comes and solders them to again, Bergm. 217-9. Various witcheries were wrought by the efficacy of *salt*, Sup. I, 713. 846; it seems almost as if we might assume a connexion between the *salt-boiling, salt-grinding, salt-strewing, salt-burning, salt-fetching* at p. 1047, and the burning of the goat, the carrying away and *strewing of his ashes.*[2] Equally heathen we found the consumption of *horseflesh* p. 1049. The witches' flights were usually performed on May-night, St. John's night, and at Christmas, but also at Shrovetide, Easter and other seasons; these were the days of great heathen festivals, of Easter-fires, May-fires, Solstitial and Yule fires, and there is no occasion to see in them a parody of the christian feasts. The riding by night, the torchlight procession, the penetrating of locked-up houses, are exactly as in the case of Holda's host;

[1] In the formulas: 'ik fate an (grasp) disen witten stock, und verlate (forsake) unsen herre Gott (Cathol.: Marien son und Got)!' or 'her trede ik in din nist (nest), und verlate unsen herre Jesum Christ!' In Hessian records of 1633: 'hie stehe ich uf dieser mist, und verleugne (deny) des lieben herrn J. Christ!' In abjuring, she stands on the dunghill, which begins to burn round her, and with a white stick she stabs a toad (ütsche). The standing on dung is also in conjuring-spells. The *white staff* is a symbol of surrender, and after being grasped is thrown into the water.

[2] Shepherds reputed to be sorcerers were accused of *baptizing* their sheep *with salt*. Factums et arrest du parlem. de Paris contre des berges sorciers executez depuis peu dans la prov. de Brie sur l'imprimé à Paris 1695. 8, p. 57.

the seducers' names, the spells, the brood of 'holden,' the round dance, all this is elvish.[1] A witch's being strengthened by touching the bare ground (iarðar-megin p. 642) may remind us of the heathen belief about giants. An application of the Old-German *ducking* to witches sprang out of the early practice of courts which had long used it against sorceresses who committed actual crimes. I do not know that the *blood-mark* imprinted on witches (p. 1070) on forming their hellish compact is necessarily to be traced to the practice of heretics (p. 1065). Mingling of blood in oaths and covenants was ancient and widely spread, RA. 192-3; the *stigma* was known in Germany long before witches were prosecuted,[2] the regular name for it being *anamâli* (Graff 2, 715). The corresponding âmæli in ON. I find only in the ethical sense of nota=vituperium; but when heroes of old Scandinavia found themselves dying the strâ-dauði in bed, they used first to consecrate themselves to Oðinn, who would only take a bleeding hero, by *scratch of spear*, even as he before dying gave himself a gash with Gûngnir (p. 147); this they called *marka sik* geirs oddi, *marka sik* Oðni, Yngl. saga cap. 10. 11. And I incline moreover to connect the 'tîres tâcen,' p. 200, and even the 'Tôdes zeichen,' p. 847; about all this there was not a thought of criminal sorcery (see Suppl.).

The details of witchcraft, the heart-eating, the storm-raising, the riding through air, are all founded on very ancient and widely scattered traditions, which I will now examine more minutely.

Let a glance at Servian superstitions lead the way. The *veshtitsa* is possessed by an evil spirit: when she falls asleep, he comes out of her, and then takes the form of a *butterfly* or a *hen*, but he is essentially one with the witch. As soon as he is out, the witch's body lies as if dead, and then always turns its head about to where the feet lay; in that state she cannot be awaked. The witch tries to catch people, to *eat up*, especially

[1] The honeysuckle, or perh. another plant, is in Lr. Germany called *alf-ranke* (elf-vine), *hexen-schlinge* (Ritter's Mekl. gram. p. 107. Arndt's Märch. p. 404). Any creepers, climbers, or intertwined branches, are named *hexen-schlupf*, because a *witch* or *elf*, when pursued, can always *slip* through them.

[2] Berthold p. 381, of the devil: they that fall into capital sin make him glad, he quickly *paints his mark* on them, and will fain have honour by their bearing his escutcheon.

young children. If she finds a man asleep, she pushes a rod through his left nipple, opens his side, *takes out the heart and eats it*, and the breast closes up again. Some of the people thus 'eaten out' die directly, others live on for a time. A witch will eat no *garlic*; and at Shrovetide many people smear themselves with garlic on the breast, soles and armpits as a safeguard, believing that she eats more people in Lent than at other times. Young and handsome women are never suspected of sorcery, witches are always *old women*,[1] but there goes a proverb: 'mlada kurva, stara veshtitsa,' young wanton makes old witch. If once the witch has confessed and criminated herself, she can never eat people or practise witchcraft any more. When witches *fly out* by night, they shine like fire, their meeting-place is a *thrashing floor* (guvno), and each when starting from her kitchen *anoints herself with a salve*, and repeats a spell which will be quoted further on. If many children or other people die in a village, and suspicion falls on some old woman, they bind and *throw her in the water*: if she sinks, she is pulled out and let go; if not, she is put to death, for witches cannot sink in water. Whoever kills a *snake* before Lady-day, and ties a piece of garlic in its head, and on Lady-day *goes to church* with the snake's head *stuck on a cap*, can *tell what women are witches* by their congregating round him and trying to filch the snake or a piece of it (Vuk sub v. vjeschtitza, pometno, blagovjest).

This remarkable account opens the way to explanations. We too had similar *means of recognising witches*. He that has about him a *harrow's tooth* he has picked up, or grains of corn found *baked into the loaf*, or a Maundy Thursday's egg, will see the witches *at church with milking-pails on their heads*, Sup. I, 636. 685. 783. Just the same in Denmark, Sup. 169. Bergman p. 219 says, in Dalarne the witches rarely come to church: it is really a *sheaf of straw* or a *swine-trough* that occupies their place, only no one is the wiser but they of the Blåkulla sisterhood. I do

[1] It is chiefly in Sweden that even *innocent children*, boys as well as girls, are drawn into the web of sorcery. The devil requires every witch to bring some children with her; she wakes them out of sleep with the words 'Devil's brat, come to the feast!' *sets them on the roof* till her number is full, then carries them through the air to the Fiend, who asks them if they will serve him, and writes them down in his book. He endows them with wisdom, and they are called *vis-gdssar*, wise lads. Conf. the children piped out of Hameln. In our Freising records are some *poor beggar boys* seduced by the devil.

not know if this pail or trough has to do with their bewitching the milk, or with the Norse belief that giantesses, ellekoner and huldre-wives carry a *trough on their backs* (Faye 118. Müll. sagabibl. 1, 367. Molb. dial. lex. 98). Keisersberg in Omeiss 36^{c} tells of a night-faring woman who sat down in a dough-trough, anointed herself with oil, spoke magic words and slipt away (?). So early as in Sn. 210^{a} we find among names of sorceresses a *Bakrauf*, riven-backed, fissura dorsi. In Dan. 'ellekone bagtil huul som et *deigtrug*,' Thiele 4, 26. All these resemblances are important. In the Appendix I quote a spell, where the *alb* is thus addressed: 'with thy *back like a dough-trough!*' Both elf and witch are beautiful only in front, behind they are disgustingly deformed, like Gurorysse p. 945, or dame World in Conrad's poem. Out of the *Maundy Thursday egg*, when hatched, comes a fowl of gay plumage, which changes colour every year: take such an egg with you to church on Easter Sunday morning, and in sunshine you can tell all the women who belong to the devil; but they smell it out, and try to crush the egg in your pocket, so you must be careful to carry it in a little box, for if they succeed in crushing it, your heart will be broken too. Tobler 102^{a} informs us of the Swiss superstition: 'weme ma n' am Sonntig vor sonna nufgang e *nübblättlets chlee* (clover) ine schue ina thued, ond mit dem schue i d'chilacha god (goes to church), so sieht ma's, wenn e häx d'inen ist: die wo hönder för sitzid (sit hind foremost) sönd häxa.' Also, whoever at Christmas matins stands on a *footstool of nine sorts of wood*, can tell all the witches in the congregation: they all turn their backs to the altar. But the witches can see him too, and woe to him if they get hold of him after service; he is a dead man, unless he has provided himself with something to tempt their cupidity, which he must keep throwing out bit by bit (as in ancient legend the pursued scatter rings and gold before the pursuing foe), and while they are picking it up, run as fast as he can, till his home receives him. A parchm. MS. of the 14th cent. at Vienna (Cod. bibl. graec. $^{39}/_{63}$ bl. 133^{a}) gives a simpler recipe: 'wil du, daz di *vnholden* zu dir chomen, so nym ein *leffel* an dem fassangtag, vnd stoz in *in gesoten prein*, vnd behalt in also vntz in die drey metten in der Vasten (3 matins in Lent), vnd trag den leffel in dy metten, so wird ez dir chunt, *wor*

sew sint.' Much the same in Mone's Anz. 4, 310: He that on the first 'knöpflein' day shall pull the spoon out of the dough unseen, and on the second and third day shall again put it in and pull it out unperceived, so that at length some dough from each day sticks to it, and shall then take it to church with him on Christmas day, will there see all the witches facing the wrong way (or, upside down?); but he must get home before the benediction is pronounced, or it may cost him his life. It is only upon going to church that any of these recognitions can take place; but they seem also to depend on your *being the first to see*, as in meeting a wolf or basilisk. Another means of recognising a witch is, that when you look into her eyes, you see your image reflected upside down.[1] Running at the eyes is a mark of old witches, Sup. I, 787 (see Suppl.).

One thing that in our tales of witches has dropt into the rear, their *eating* men's *hearts out of their bodies*, stands in the forefront of the more primitive Servian way of thinking. Vuk has a song no. 363, in which a shepherd boy, whom his sister cannot wake, cries in his sleep: 'veshtitse su me iz-yele, maika mi srtse vadila, strina yoi luchem svetlila,' witches have eaten me out, mother took my heart, cousin lighted her with a torch. Fortis cap. 8 relates, how two witches took a young man's heart out in his sleep, and began to fry it; a priest had looked on without being able to hinder, and the spell was not broken till the youth awoke; then, when the priest approached the witches, they anointed themselves out of a mug, and fled. He took the heart half-cooked off the fire, and bade the youth gulp it down quick, by doing which he was completely restored. To me this Servian witch, making her appearance at Shrovetide and cutting open people's breasts, looks uncommonly like our periodical Berhta, who *cuts open* the lazy workman's body and *stuffs it with chopped straw*, p. 273; out of the goddess was made the hideous bugbear. In many villages, we are told, there are wicked wives that have a *white liver*, whose husbands waste away and die. Passages in the Codes prove that the same delusion prevailed among the ancient Germans: Lex. Sal. 67, 'si stria *hominem comederit*,' and what was quoted p. 1068 from the Lex Roth. 379 and the

[1] Pliny 7, 2 notices a similar test for magicians: 'in altero oculo geminam pupillam, in altero equi effigiem.' Conf. the people possessed by holden, p. 1074.

Capit. de parte Sax. 5. Also the Indic. paganiarum: 'quod feminae possint *corda hominum tollere* juxta paganos;' and Burchard: 'ut credas, te januis clausis exire posse, et homines interficere et de coctis carnibus eorum vos comedere, et *in loco cordis* eorum *stramen* aut *lignum* aut aliquod hujusmodi *ponere*, et comestis iterum vivos facere et inducias vivendi dare.' Notker's Cap. 105, speaking of ambrones and anthropophagi (man-ezon), adds: 'alsô man chît, taz ouh *hâzessa hier im lande tûen*.'[1] The tenth, the eleventh century had not given up the heathen notion, nay, it lingers later still. It lies at the root of Diomed's words in Herbort 9318: 'si *hât mîn herze mit ir* . . . ich hân niht in dem lîbe, da mîn herze solde wesen, dâ trage ich eine lîhte *vesen*, ein *strô*, oder einen *wisch*;' only here it is not an old witch, but his lady-love that has run away with his heart, in which sense lovers in all ages talk of losing their hearts.[2] The poem given p. 1048 speaks of the unholde striding over a man, *cutting his heart out, and stuffing straw in*, and his still remaining alive. Says Berthold (Cod. pal. 35 fol. 28ᵃ): 'pfei! gelawbestu, das du ainem man sein *herz auss seinem leib nemest*, und im ain *stro hin wider stossest?*' So in the North they speak of a fem. *mannœtta* (not a masc. mann-ætti), and the word is even used for male magicians: 'tröll ok *mannœtta*,' Fornm. sög. 3, 214. A Polish story in Woycicki makes the witch pull the heart out and put a hare's heart in its place. Child-devouring 'striges' in Altd. bl. 1, 125. Our present fairy-tales represent the witch as a wood-wife, who *feeds* and *fattens children* for her own consumption (KM. no. 15); if they escape, she goes after them in league-boots (nos. 51. 56. 113). Grimly the witch in the tale of Frau Trude throws a girl into the fire as a log of wood, and snugly warms herself thereby. That the Romans believed in witches consuming particular parts of a man who still lived on, is proved by the following passages. Petronius cap. 134: 'quae striges *comederunt nervos* tuos?' cap. 63: 'strigae puerum involaverunt,

[1] To this he appends his well-known statement as to the *Weletabi* or *Wilze*, who were accused of eating their aged parents, RA. 488. That the national name *Volot*, *Velet* passed into that of giant, hence ogre (as in the analogous cases on p. 527), Schafarik has ably expounded in his Slav. stud. 1, 877; but he had no business to mix up (1, 882) our Welisungs (supra p. 371) with those Wilzen.

[2] '*Rubacuori*, che il cor m'avete tolto; del petto mio cavasti il cuore,' Tommaseo's Canti pop. 1, 88—90.

et *supposuerunt stramentum.*' Plautus in Pseud. iii. 2, 31: 'sed strigibus vivis convisis *intestina* quae *exedint.*' The Atellanic ghost, the *manducus*, from mandere, manducare, is a munching voracious bogie (butz p. 507), a bugbear to children. *Masca* p. 1045, Ital. *maschera*, may be referred to mâcher, mascher, or masticare, and the witch is called mask because she consumes children. The Indian sorceresses also try to get *human flesh* to eat, Lomad. 2, 62 (see Suppl.).

Equally ancient is the opinion that the *spirit passes out of a sleeping witch in butterfly shape.* Souls in general were likened to butterflies, p. 829; to the Slovèns *vezha* is will o' wisp, butterfly and witch. The alp appears as a butterfly or moth, phalaena (*nacht-toggeli*, Stald. 1, 287), as a devil's beast p. 1029; the witches' holden and elves are butterflies. But our native legend speaks of other animals too, that issue from the mouths of sleepers. King Gunthram, spent with toil, had gone to sleep on a faithful follower's lap: then the henchman sees a *little beast* like a *snake* run out of his lord's mouth, and make its way to a streamlet, which it cannot step over. He lays his sword across the water, the beast runs over it, and goes into a hill on the other side. After some time it returns the same way into the sleeper, who presently wakes up, and relates how in a dream he had crossed an *iron bridge* and gone into a mountain filled with gold (Aimoin 3, 3. Paul. Diac. 3, 34, whence Sigebert in Pertz 8, 319). Later writers tell of a sleeping landsknecht, and how a *weasel* came running out of him, Deut. sag. no. 455. But in more recent accounts it is applied to devil's brides, out of whose mouth runs a *cat* or a *red mouse*, while the rest of the body lies fixed in slumber (ibid. nos. 247—9).[1] A miller, cutting firewood in the Black Forest, fell asleep over the work, and his man saw a *mouse* creep out of him and run away; everybody searched, but could not find it, and the miller never awoke. Is all this connected with the witches' mouse-making p. 1090, and the narrow *thread-bridge* to be crossed by the soul on its way to the under world p. 834? It is stated, exactly as with the Servians, that if you turn the sleeper's body round, the beast on returning

[1] 'For the *mouse* that runneth out (=matrix) lay a sword across the stream,' Ettner's Hebamme p. 194. In Fischart's Plays no. 216: 'there runs a white mouse up the wall.'

cannot find its way in, and death ensues, Sup. I, 650. That state of internal ecstasy, in which the body lies in a rigid sleep, our old speech designates by *irprottan* (raptus), i.e. tranced.[1] But ON. myth has already acquainted us with the greatest of all possible examples: 'Oðinn skipti hömum (changed his shape), lâ þâ bûkrinn sem sofinn eða dauðr, enn hann var þâ *fugl* eða *dýr*, *fiskr* eða *ormr*, ok fôr â einni svipstund â fiarlæg lönd, at sînum erindum eðr annara manna,' Yngl. s. cap. 7; his body lay asleep or dead, and he as bird, beast, fish or snake, fared in a twinkling to far-lying lands (see Suppl.).

Again, the Servian starting-spell, 'ni o trn ni o grm, vetch na pometno guvno!' (not against thorn nor against oak, but to swept barnfloor), agrees with German ones. Usually the word is: 'auf und davon! *hui oben hinaus und nirgend an!*' out on high, and (strike) against nothing; or 'wol aus und an, *stoss nirgend an!*' or 'fahr hin, nicht zu hoch, nicht zu nieder!' and in England: '*tout, tout, throughout and about!*' But if the witch is pursuing people: 'before me day, behind me night!' Dan. 'lyst foran, og mörkt bag!' A Norse magician took a goatskin, wrapt it round his head, and spoke: '*verði þoka, ok verði skrîpi*, ok undr mikil öllum þeim sem eptir þer sœkja!' be there mist and magic and much wonder to all that seek after thee, Nialss. cap. 12. A formula used by Fr. magicians on mounting the stick is given, but not completely, by Boguet p. 111: '*baston blanc, baston noir*, etc.' Of Indian sorceresses we are likewise told, that they repeat a *formula for flight*: Kalaratri said it and immediately, with her disciples and the cow-stall on whose roof she stood, she flew aloft and along the path of cloud, whither she would; a man, having overheard her, made use of the same spell to go after her (Somad. 2, 58-9), exactly as in our tales of witches men get acquainted with their salves and spells, and pursue them (see Suppl.).

Where is the first mention of *stick and broom riding* to be found? Actually I can only produce a tolerably old authority for *riding on reeds and rushes*, and even these turn into real horses. Guilielm. Alvernus, p. 1064: 'Si vero quaeritur de *equo* quem *ad vectigationes suas facere* se credunt *malefici*, credunt,

[1] The *hinbrûten* (ecstasis) of sorceresses, Ettn. Hebamme p. 226. Martin von Amberg: 'die *henpretigen*,' the entranced.

inquam, facere *de canna* per characteres nefandos et scripturas quas in ea inscribunt et impingunt; dico in hoc, quia non est possibile malignis spiritibus *de canna verum equum facere* vel formare, neque cannam ipsam ad hanc ludificationem eligunt, quia ipsa aptior sit ut *transfiguretur in equum*, vel ex illa generetur equus, quam multae aliae materiae. Forsitan autem propter planitiem superficiei et facilitatem habendi eam alicui videatur ad hoc praeelecta. . . . Sic forsan hac de causa ludificationem istam efficere in canna sola et non alio ligno permittuntur maligni spiritus, ut facilitas et vanitas eorum per cannam hominibus insinuetur. . . . Si quis autem dicat, quia *canna et calamus* habitationes interdum malignorum spirituum sunt[1] . . . ego non improbo.'—More intelligible is the Irish tale of the *rushes and corn-stalks* that turn into horses the moment you bestride them, Ir. elfenmär. 101. 215. Of such a horse, after the first time, you need only lift the *bridle* and shake it when you want him, and he comes directly (Sup. H, cap. 31. Spell xvi.). In Hartlieb (Sup. H, cap. 32) the unholden are represented riding on *rakes* and oven-*forks*, in the older Poem given at p. 1048 on *brooms*, *dehsen*, *oven-sticks* and *calves*, in the Ackermann aus Böhmen p. 8 on *crutches* and *goats*, but in the Tkadlezek p. 27 on *distaffs* (kuzly). Dobrowsky in Slavin p. 407 mentions the Bohem. summons 'staré baby, *na pometlo!*' old wives, on to your stove-broom.—Of more importance is what we find in the story of Thorsteinn bœarmagn, which Müller 3, 251 assigns to the 15th century: As the hero lay hid in the cane-brake, he heard a boy call into the hill, 'Mother, hand me out *crook-staff* and *band-gloves*, I wish to go the magic ride (gand-reið, p. 1054), there is wedding in the world below'; and immediately the *krôkstafr* was handed out of the hill, the boy mounted it, drew the gloves on, and rode as children do. Thorsteinn went up to the hill, and shouted the same words: out came both staff and gloves, he mounted, and rode after the boy. Coming to a river, they plunged in, and rode to a castle on a rock, where many people sat at table, all drinking wine out of silver goblets; on a golden

[1] 'Mennige narrinnen (many a she-fool) und ock mennigen dor (fool) *bindet de dûvel up sin ror* (the d. ties on to his cane),' Narragonia 14[b] (nothing like it in Brant). Does it mean devil's horses? And does that explain Walther's 'ûz im (the black book) leset *siniu rôr*' (33, 8)? A Servian proverb says: 'lasno ye dyabolu u ritu svirati,' 'tis easy piping on the devil's reed.

throne were the king and queen. Thorsteinn, whom his staff had made invisible, ventured to seize a costly ring and a cloth, but in doing so he lost the stick, was seen by all, and pursued. Happily his invisible fellow-traveller came by on the other stick, Thorsteinn mounted it as well, and they both escaped (Fornm. sög. 3, 176—8). If the poem has not the peculiar stamp of Norse fable, it teaches none the less what notions were attached to these enchanted rides in the 14th or 15th century: no devil shews his face in it. *Sticks* and *staves* however seem to be later expedients of witchery: neither night-wives nor Furious Host nor valkyrs need any apparatus for traversing the air; night-wives had already *calves* and *goats* attributed to them, p. 1058. There is a very curious phrase, 'to *wake a hedge-stick*,' which has to become a *he-goat* and fetch the loved one to her lover; originally perhaps no other sticks were meant but such as, on bestriding, immediately turned into beasts (see Suppl.).

As witches slip through *keyholes* and *cracks in the door*, p. 1074, they are able to squeeze themselves into the narrowest space, even *betwixt wood and bark* (conf. Suppl. on p. 653). Thus in H. Sachs ii. 4, 10 the devil first peels the hazel-rod on which he hands the old woman the stipulated shoes, for fear she might creep to him 'twixt wood and bark. In Iw. 1208 the utmost secresy is expressed by: 'sam daz *holz under der rinden*, alsam sît ir verborgen.' When a Lithuanian convert began to bark the trees in a holy wood, he said: 'Vos me meis anseribus gallisque spoliastis, proinde et ego nudas vos (sc. arbores) faciam. Credebat enim deos rei suae familiari perniciosos *intra arbores et cortices latere*.' The Swed. song makes enchanting minstrels charm the *bark off the tree*, the babe out of the mother, the hind from the forest, the eye from out the socket (Arvidsson 2, 311-2-4-7).

Again, the witches' *dislike of bells* is heathenish: the elves have it, and the giants, p. 459. Pious prayer and *ringing of bells* put their plans out: they call the bells 'yelping dogs.' In a Swed. folktale (Ödm. Bahusl. beskrifn. p. 228) an old heathen crone, on hearing the sound of the christian bell from Tegneby, exclaims in contempt: 'nu må tro, Rulla på Rallehed har fådt *bjälra*,' R. the christian church has got a tinkler. As yet there is no thought of witchery. But it is told of Swed. witches too, that they scrape the *bells* loose up in the belfry: in their airy

flight when they come to a steeple, they set the kidnapped children (p. 1078) down on the church-roof, who are then mere jackdaws to look at; in the meantime they scrape the bell loose, and lug it away, and afterwards let the metal drop through the clouds, crying: 'never let my soul draw near to God, any more than this metal will be a bell again!' (see Suppl.).

The *raising of hailstorms* and *spoiling of crops* by magic reaches back to the remotest antiquity of almost every nation. As benignant gods make the fruits to thrive, as air-riding valkyrs from the manes of their steeds let life-giving dew trickle down on the plain (p. 421); so baneful beings of magic power strive to annihilate all that is green. The Greek *Eumenides* (a word that even our oldest glosses translate by hâzasa) *spoil the crops with their slaver*, and *the fruit with hailstones*, Aesch. Eum. 753-68-77-95. The Roman Twelve Tables imposed a penalty on him 'qui *fruges excantassit* . . . sive . . . alienam segetem pellexerit.'[1] In the 8-9th cent. 'weather-making' was alleged against sorcerers rather than sorceresses; the passages given at p. 638 name only *tempestarii*, not tempestariae. So in Ratherius p. 626: 'contra eos qui dicunt quod *homo malus* vel *diabolus*[2] tempestatem faciat, *lapides grandinum spergat*, agros devastet, *fulgura mittat*, etc. Those magicians in Burchard are called *immissores tempestatum*, Sup. C, 10, 8; p. 194[a]. Yet in the North, Thorgerðr and Irpa, who stir up storm and tempest, are women (p. 637), and the salt-grinders Fenja and Menja giantesses; their ship is like the mist-ship of the clouds. How magicians set about their weather-making, is nowhere specified. In much later authorities we find them using a *tub* or a *pitcher*, p. 593. In Ls. 2, 314 Master Irreganc says (G. Abent. 3, 90):

> und kæm ein *wann* (tub) in mîn hant,
> *der hagel slüeg* (hail would beat) *über allez lant.*

In the Apollon. von Tyrland (9183. 10970. 11010 seq.) are mentioned *pitchers*, the *emptying* of which was followed by showers and hail: one jug engendered lightnings and thunderbolts, another hail and shower, a third one rain and nipping

[1] 'Rudis adhuc antiquitas credebat et attrahi imbres cantibus, et repelli,' Seneca Nat. quaest. 4, 7.

[2] The *devil* brings on gales and thunderstorms, p. 1000; so does the *giant*, p. 636.

winds. A woodcut in Keisersberg's Omeiss (ed. 1516, 36[b]) portrays three naked unholden sitting on footstools, distaffs and horses' heads, *holding up pots*, out of which shower and storm mount up. A passage in the Rudlieb is worth quoting: the repenting culprit begs (6, 48),

post triduum corpus tollatis ut ipsum
et comburatis, *in aquam cineres jaciatis*,
ne *jubar abscondat sol*, aut *aer neget imbrem*,
ne per me *grando* dicatur *laedere* mundo.

Let her body be taken off the gallows and burnt, and the *ashes be strown on water*, lest, being *scattered in air, it should breed clouds, drought* and *hail*. Just so the *devil's ashes* are strown to awaken storm and tempest, p. 1071–3; the Chronicon S. Bertini states that Richilde, before her fight with Robert the Frisian, *threw dust in the air* against the Frisians with formulas of imprecation, but it fell back on her own head in token of her speedy overthrow. She meant, like Thorgerðr and Irpa, to *destroy the enemy* by tempest. Justinger's Chron. of Bern p. 205 relates how a woman, secretly sent for by a Count of Kyburg, who promised not to betray her, stood on the battlements of his castle, and uttering hidden words, raised *clouds, rain* and *storm*, which *scattered his foes* (A.D. 1382). The witches of Norway still proceed exactly as the Vinlanders were said to do (p. 640): they tie up wind and foul weather in a *bag*, and at the proper moment undo the knots, exclaiming 'wind, in the devil's name!' then a storm rushes out, lays waste the land, and overturns ships at sea. By Hartlieb's account (Sup. H, cap. 34), old women sacrifice to devils, that they may make *hail* and *shower*. According to German records of the 16-17 cent., witches assemble in crowds by waterbrooks or lakes, and *flog* the water *with rods*, till a fog rises, which gradually thickens into *black clouds; on these clouds they are borne up*, and then guide them toward the spots to which they mean mischief. They also place *magic pots* in the water, and stir them round.[1] The *windsack* is mentioned a few times (Voigt 131). They make blue lights *trickle into the water*, throw *flintstones* into the air, or trundle *barrels* whose bursting begets tempest. They gather *oak-leaves in a man's shirt*, and

[1] Conf. p. 596–7 on storm-raising by throwing stones and pouring out water.

when it is full, hang it on a tree: a wind springs up directly, that drives all rain away, and keeps the weather fine. Out of a small piece of cloud a witch made a deal of bad weather (Arx Buchsgau p. 103). A violent thunderstorm lasted so long, that a huntsman on the highway loaded his gun with a consecrated bullet, and *shot* it off into the middle of the *blackest cloud;* out of it (as out of the ship, p. 638) a *naked female* fell dead to the ground, and the storm blew over in a moment (Mone's Anz. 4, 309). In Carinthia the people *shoot at storm-clouds,* to scare away the *evil spirits* that hold counsel in them. The parson being credited with power to charm the weather, the women bring apronfuls of hailstones into his house: 'there, that's his rightful tithe of the weather, as he did not see good to keep it away'; Sartori's Journ. in Austria 2, 153-4. In some parts of France whole families are suspected of having the hereditary power to raise a storm: they meet on the lake-side, not less than three at a time, and lash the water up with horrible cries; this is done at night before sunrise, and a violent storm is the immediate consequence, Mém. de l'acad. celt. 2, 206-7. Such people are called *meneurs des nuées,* Mém. des antiq. 1, 244. In Germany witches were commonly called, by way of insult, *wettermacherin, wetterhexe, wetterkatze, donnerkatze, nebelhexe, strahlhexe, blitzhexe, zessenmacherin* (from the old zessa, storm), and earlier, *wolkengüsse,* cloud-gushes, Ms. 2, 140$_b$. The OHG. *Wolchandrût,* a woman's name in Trad. Fuld. 2, 101, need have had none but perfectly innocent associations: the valkyr either rides in the clouds or sprinkles from them *fertilizing* dew; so even the strewing of ashes on the field may originally have increased their fertility. Occasionally *feldfrau* and *feldspinnerin* are used of a witch; is it because she passes over field and meadow, or spins magic threads? (conf. p. 1099). Who knows but that the popular saying, when it snows, 'the *old wives* are shaking their coats out' (de aule wiver schüddet den pels ut, Strodtm. p. 336), is, properly understood, identical with that on p. 268: '*dame Holle* is making her bed'? Goddess, valkyr, witch: the regular gradation of such myths. To the Greeks Zeus himself was still *νεφεληγερέτα,* to the Serbs the vila gathers clouds. In Scandinavia too, hail and hurricane proceed from those half-goddesses *Thorgerðr* and *Irpa,* not as injurious to

crops, but perilous to armies;[1] Sn. 175 makes a sorceress bear the very name *El*, procella[2] (see Suppl.).

But sometimes the aim of sorcery is not so much to destroy the produce, as to get possession of it, to carry it off the field, either to one's own garner, or that of a favourite.[3] Even the Romans speak of this: 'satas alio traducere messes,' Virg. Ecl. 8, 99; 'cantus vicinis fruges traducit ab agris,' Tibull. i. 8, 19. People fancied, that when unholden walked through a vineyard and *shook the vines*, the grapes came out of the neighbour's plot into theirs (Hartm. segenspr. 341). An old dalesman gave his granddaughter a staff, and told her to *stick it in the corn* at a certain spot in a field; the girl on her way was overtaken by a shower, took refuge under an oak, and left the staff standing there: when she got home, she found a great heap of *oak-leaves* in her grandfather's loft (ibid. p. 342). We also hear of *vine-shoots* being *boiled in a pot*, probably to spoil the vineyard. The poison-herbs of witches boil and evaporate under the open sky.

We are told of witches *bathing naked in the sand*[4] or *in corn*; I know not for what purpose; Superst. I, 519 speaks of rolling naked in the flax. Three witches were seen going to a field of rye, laying aside their garments, and bathing in the corn with their hair hanging loose. When witnesses approached, two vanished suddenly, leaving their clothes behind, the third huddled her smock on (Voigt 130—2). Has this to do with corn-wives and rye-aunts p. 477?

Witches and sorcerers use *various implements*, of which for the most part no exact description is given. Of the *wand* with which the old magicians are usually armed, I find no mention in our tales, for when the wishing-rod is named, it is as a higher and noble instrument; yet the staff or stick that witches are said

[1] As the whirlwind is ascribed to the devil (p. 1008) so it is to witches (Sup. I, 554. 648). Kilian 693 remarks, that it is also called *varende wif*, travelling woman, i.e. air-riding sorceress; conf. *wind's bride* p. 632, and 'rushing like a wind's-bride through the land,' Simplic. 2, 62.

[2] Is she called *sôlar böl*, sun's bale, because she darkens the sun with her storm-cloud? Or may we go farther back to heathen times, and impute to the witch, as to the wolf, a *swallowing of sun and moon*? To me it looks the more likely from the name *hvel-svelg himins*, swallower of heaven's wheel.

[3] Conf. the convenient corn-dragon (p. 1019) and home-sprite.

[4] Fowls are said to 'bathe in sand': Lith. kutenas' wisztos żiegždrosa; Lett. perrinatees; Pol. kury się w piasku kąpią; Serv. leprshatise.

to ride may originally have been carried in the hand. I also find the stick spoken of as the wizard's *third leg* (Mone's Anz. 7, 426). In Bavarian records the so-called *making of mice* or *pigs* (fackel for ferkel) is often mentioned: the witch has a *four-legged implement*, dark-yellow, hard and stiff; this she holds under a figure of a mouse or pig that she has made out of a napkin, and says 'Run away, and come back to me!' the figure becomes a live animal, and runs away; probably to fetch her something of other people's. Hence a witch is called *maus-schlägerin*, mouse-beater, and a wizard *maus-schlägel*. In North German trials the expression is *müse-maker*, and the process is different: the witch boils magic herbs, then cries, 'Mouse, mouse, come out in devil's name!' and the beasts come jumping out of the pot (Laffert's Relat. crim. p. 57-9). It reminds one of the destructive *mice* created by Apollo Smintheus in his wrath, and the devastations of lemings in Lapland; so that this plague may with perfect right take its place with the desolating storm and hail, although our witch-trials say hardly anything of the damage done by the magic beasts (conf. Klausen's Aeneas p. 73—5). One Nethl. story in Wolf no. 401 relates how a young girl flung two *pellets of earth* one after the other, and in a moment the whole field *swarmed with mice*. Swedish tradition tells of a *bjäraan* or *bare*, which (says Ihre, dial. lex. 18[a]) was a *milking-pail* made by tying together nine sorts of stolen weaver's knots. You let three drops of blood fall into it out of your little finger, and said:

på jorden (on earth) skal tu för mig springa,
i Blåkulla skal jag för thig brinna!

The name comes from the vessel conveying (bära) milk and other things to the houses of the devil-worshippers. Hülphers (Fierde saml. om Angermanland. Vesteräs 1780, p. 310) describes it as a *round ball* made of rags, tow and juniper, etc., and used in several magic tricks: it ran out and brought things in. It starts off the moment the sender cuts his left little finger and lets the blood fall on it:

smör och ost (butter and cheese) skal du mig bringa,
och derför (skal jag) i helfvetet brinna (in hell-fire burn)!

Who can help thinking of Goethe's Magician's Apprentice with his water-fetching *broom?*

Of the same kind seems to have been the Icelandic *snackr*, which commonly means a weaver's spool. It is made, says Biörn, of a dead man's rib in the shape of a snake, and wrapt in gray wool; it sucks at the witch's breast, after which it can suck other people's cattle dry, and bring their milk home[1] (see Suppl.).

Of wider diffusion is sorcery with the *sieve*, which I shall speak of by and by; and with *wax figures*, to which if you did anything while uttering secret words, it took effect on absent persons. The *wax figure* (*atzmann*) was either hung up in the air, plunged in water, fomented at the fire, or stabbed with needles and buried under the door-sill: the person aimed at feels all the hurts inflicted on the figure (Sup. G, line 28; H, cap. 79).[2] In Aw. 2, 55 a travelling student says:

Mit wunderlîchen sachen
lêr ich sie (I teach her) denne machen
von wahs einen kobolt,
wil sie daz er ir werde holt (he grow kind to her),
und töuf' ez[3] in den brunnen,
und leg in an die sunnen;

but counter-agencies make the danger recoil on the conjuror himself.[4] Magic figures can also be baked of *dough* or *lime*, and

[1] The Lapps have a magic vessel *quobdas* (Leem p. 421 spells govdes), cut out of fir, pine or birch with the grain running from right to left; it is open underneath, but covered with a skin at the top. The Lapl. adepts drum on this skin with a hammer.

[2] Conf. Dæmonomanie, Fischart's transl., Strasb. 1591 fol. p.143-4.

[3] I.e. *tauche* es, dip it into the fountain; if we took it as *taufe*, baptize, we should have to read 'in *dem* brunnen.'

[4] Schimpf und ernst cap. 272 tells the following story: A certain man went to Rome, for to seek S. Peter and S. Paul; and when he was gone, his wife loved another, that was what men call a scholar-errant, and did covet her to wife. The woman saith, 'my good man is departed unto Rome, were he dead, or couldst thou take away his life, then would I have thee of all men.' He said, 'yea truly I can take his life;' and buyeth wax about six pound, and maketh an image thereof. Now when the good man was come to Rome into the city, there came one to him and spake: 'O thou son of death, what goest thou up and down? If none help thee, this day shall see thee alive and dead.' The man asked, 'how should that be?' And he said, 'come to my house, and I will shew it thee.' And having brought him home, he prepared for him a waterbath, and set him therein, and gave him a mirror, saying, 'look thou therein,' and sat beside him, reading in a book, and spake unto him, 'behold in the glass, what seest thou therein?' The man in the bath said, 'I see one in mine house, that *setteth up a waxen image on the wall*,

wrought out of *metal*, but wax made by the sacred bee (p. 696) appears the most appropriate; their manufacture is a mimicry of divine creation (p. 570), but it succeeds only up to a certain point. In Pulci's Morgante 21, 73 a witch possesses an image made of the pure wax of young bees (delle prime api), and having every limb except one rib:[1] the witch's own vitality is bound up with the figure, and when Malagigi melts it at a slow fire, she dwindles away. That such figures were sometimes baptized, is shewn by a sermon of Berthold's (Cod. pal. 35 fol. 27[b]): 'so nimpt diu her und *tauft ein wachs*, diu ein holz, diu ein tôtenpein (dead man's bone), allez daz sie domit bezouber;'[2] and this proves the connexion of magical appliances with superstitious healing appliances. As the sick and the restored used to consecrate and hang up in churches an image or a limb of wax, so by images the witch maimed and killed. No doubt this kind of conjuring goes back to the oldest times; we find it in Ovid, Amor. iii. 7, 29:

Sagave punicea defixit nomina cera,
et medium tenues in jecur egit acus?

and goeth and taketh his crossbow, and having bent it, will *shoot at the image*.' Then said the other, 'as thou lovest thy life, duck thee under the water when he shall shoot.' And the man did so. And again he read in the book, and spake 'behold, what seest thou?' The man said, 'I see that he hath missed, and is exceeding sorry, and my wife with him; the scholar-errant setteth to, and will shoot the second time, and goeth the half way toward.' 'Duck thee when he shall shoot.' And he ducked. Saith the other, 'look, what seest thou?' The man said, 'I see that he hath missed, and is sore troubled, and speaketh to the woman, If now I miss the third time, I am [a man] of death; and setteth to, and aimeth at the figure very near, that he may not miss.' Then spake he that read in the book, 'duck thee!' And the man ducked from the shot. And he said, 'look up, what seest thou?' 'I see that he hath missed, and *the arrow is gone into him*, and is dead, and my wife bestoweth him in the basement below.' Then said he, 'arise now, and go thy way.' And the man would have given him much, but he would take nothing, and said, 'pray God for me.' When the citizen was come home again, and his wife would have kindly received him, he would take no pity on her, but sent to bid her friends, and spake to them, what manner of wife they had given him, and shewed them everything, how she had borne herself. The woman steadfastly denied it; then led he the friends to the place where she had dug him in, and dug him out again. And the people took the woman, and burned her, the which was her just reward.—The story comes from the Gesta Rom. (ed. Keller cap. 102; transl. ed. Keller p. 160); but one ought to compare the fresh story from Finnish Lapland in Afzelius 1, 48.

[1] As the rib serves for further creation (p. 562), and for making miraculous apparatus (pp. 907. 1091), imperfect creation is destitute of it.

[2] Quidam (Judaeorum) ad similitudinem episcopi (Eberhardi Treverensis, in 11th cent.) *ceream imaginem* lycnis interpositam facientes, clericum ut eam *baptizaret* pecunia corruperunt, quam ipso sabbato accenderunt; qua jam ex parte media consumpta, episcopus coepit graviter infirmari, et obiit (Hist. Trev.).

Compare Horace, Epod. 17, 76: 'movere *cereas imagines*.' Theocritus 2, 28 has the *wax-melting* very plainly: ὡς τοῦτον τὸν καρὸν ἐγὼ σὺν δαίμονι τάκω, ὡς τάκοιθ' ὑπ' ἔρωτος, but not that it was an image. In Virgil, Ecl. 8, 74 seq., a magic figure (terque haec altaria circum *effigiem* duco) seems to be made of *lime* and *wax* (see Suppl.).

An ancient custom, very similar to this of hanging up and thawing the atzmann, was to cut out the *earth* or *turf* on which had rested the foot of one whom you wish to destroy. This *erdschnitt* as Vintler calls it (Sup. G, l. 92) is hung in the chimney, and as it begins to wither or dry up, the man too shall waste away (I, 524. 556). It was already known to Burchard (C, p. 200[a]). To fetch up a comrade from a foreign land, you *boil his stockings*; or you put his *shoes* in a new pot, and with it draw water *against the current*, then *boil the shoes* in the pot four days long; when they are past, he will come, says Hessian superstition (see Suppl.). You can lame a horse by driving a nail into his recent footprint, and discover a thief by putting tinder in his (I, 978). Pliny 28, 20 says: 'vestigium equi excussum ungula (ut solet plerumque) si quis collectum reponat, singultus remedium esse recordantibus quonam loco id reposuerint;' a cure for hiccough if you remember where you put it.

Our magicians have also, in common with those of Greece and Rome, the power of assuming an *animal shape* (in itself a divine attribute, p. 326): the men prefer changing into a wolf or hawk, the women into a cat or swan; to translate it into the language of our heathen time, they addict themselves to the service of Wuotan, of Frouwa. These metamorphoses are either voluntary or compulsory: the higher being in his might puts on the animal shape that suits him, or he dooms a man to wear it in punishment or vengeance. In the stories it is often a *mother-in-law* or *stepmother* that transforms children, ON. *stiupmôður sköp*, Fornald. sög. 1, 31. 58.

Herodotus 4, 105 says of the Neuri, that among Scythians and Greeks settled in Scythia they pass for magicians (γόητες), because once a year every Neurian *becomes a wolf* for a few days, and then resumes the human form (ὡς ἔτεος ἑκάστου ἅπαξ τῶν Νευρῶν ἕκαστος λύκος γίνεται ἡμέρας ὀλίγας, καὶ αὖτις ὀπίσω ἐς τωὐτὸ κατίσταται). Similar accounts are in Pliny 8, 34. Pomp.

Mela 2, 1. Augustine Civ. Dei 18, 17: 'his ego saepe *lupum fieri* et se condere silvis Moerin . . . vidi,' Virg. Ecl. 8, 97. A man distinguished by this gift or malady was called λυκάνθρωπος,[1] a word-formation to which the AS. *werewulf* (Leges Canuti, Schmid 1, 148), Engl. *werewolf*, exactly corresponds; Goth. vairavulfs? OHG. werawolf? MHG. poets have no werewolf. The ON. uses *vargr* alone (RA. 733. Reinh. xxxvii), verûlfr in Sn. 214[b] is a sword's name, the Swed. Dan. *varulf, varulv*, seem formed on a Romance or German model. I find *werwolf* first in Burchard (Sup. C, p. 198[c]); though Boniface before him couples 'strigas et *fictos lupos* credere' (Serm., in Mart. et Dur. 9, 217). The Fr. *loup-garou* (*warou* in O. Fr. poems) might seem a distortion of warulf; garulf (Gervase of Tilb. writes *gerulphus*), but then the Breton dialect has also its *bleiz-garou, -garo* (fr. bleiz, wolf), and *den-vleiz*, man-wolf (fr. den, man), *grêk-vleiz* (femme-loup); *bisclaveret* in Marie de France 1, 178 is apparently a corruption of *bleizgarv*, as the Norman *garwal* is of *guarwolf*. The Pol. *wilkołak, wilkołek*, Boh. *wlkodlak*, strictly means wolf-haired, and suggests the hairy wood-sprite, p. 480. The Serv. *vukodlac* signifies a vampire. From wilks (wolf) the Letton forms *wilkats* (werewolf), Wilkaścha radda ds. 1644.

Our oldest native notions make the assumption of wolf-shape depend on arraying oneself in a *wolf-belt* or *wolf-shirt* (ûlfa-hamr), as translation into a swan does on putting on the swan-shift or swan-ring (p. 427-8).[2] One who wears a wolf-belt, ûlfhamr, is called in OHG. *wolfhetan*, ON. *ûlfheðinn* (the ð repres. an orig. *d*); especially do raging berserkir become *ûlfheðnir*: 'þeir höfðu vargstakkar fyrir brynjur,' Vatnsdœla saga 36. 'berserkir þeir vâru kallaðir *ûlfhiedar* (r. ûlfheðnir),' Grettissaga 32[a]. We also find a man's name *Ulfheðinn*, and OHG. *Wolfhetan*, MB. 28, nos.

[1] Among the Æsopian Fables is a merry gest (Cor. 425. Fur. 423): A thief pretends to his host, that when he has *yawned three times*, he becomes a werewolf (*ὅταν οὖν χασμηθῶ τρεῖς βολάς, γίνομαι λύκος ἐσθίων ἀνθρώπους*); the timid host runs away, and the rogue gets possession of his garment. Petronius in Sat. 62 mentions a peculiar method of metamorphosis: 'ille *circumminxit* vestimenta sua, et subito *lupus* factus est; vestimenta lapidea facta sunt.' Conf. cap. 57: 'si circumminxero illum, nesciet qua fugiat.'

[2] The *girdle* was an essential article of dress, and early ages ascribe to it other magic influences: e.g. Thôr's divine strength lay in his girdle (megingiörð, fem.), Sn. 26.

52. 246. Apart from wolves, we have biarnheðinn, geitheðinn, i.e. dressed in a bearskin, goatskin; as a proper name, both *Biarnheðinn*, Landn. 45, and a simple *Heðinn*, ancestor of the *Hiaðningar*, AS. Heodeningas fr. Heden or Heoden. The vowel is therefore ë (not e), and we must suppose a lost verb OHG. hëtan, hat, pl. hâtum, Goth. hidan, had, hêdum. Lye quotes a '*heden*, casla,' meaning prob. casula, robe; and an ON. *geitheðinn* is supposed to be 'pallium e pelle caprina'; but I prefer to take Wolfhetan as a participle. We see then, that the transformation need not be for a magical purpose at all: any one that puts on, or is conjured into, a wolf-shirt, will undergo metamorphosis, remain a wolf nine days, and only on the tenth be allowed to return to human shape[1]; some stories make him keep the wolf-body for three, seven or nine years. With the appearance, he acquires also the fierceness and howling, of the wolf: roaming the woods, he rends to pieces everything that comes in his way.[2] Fornald. sög. 1, 50 speaks of a 'liosta með *úlfhandska*,' striking with wolf's glove, by which a person is turned into a bear, and wears the animal form by day, the human at night. In a similar way the notion of werewolves also gets mixed up with that of outlaws who have fled to the woods. A notable instance is that of Sigmund and Sinfiötli (ibid. 2, 130–1): when they sleep, their wolf-shirts hang beside them.

Werewolves thirst for youthful blood, and carry off children and maidens with reckless audacity. Out of many stories in Woycicki 1, 101—113. 152—8 I select only this: A witch twisted her girdle together, and laid it on the threshold of a house where there was a wedding; when the newly married pair stepped

[1] It is also believed, that every ninth day the seal (selr) doffs his fishy skin, and is for one day a man (Thiele 3, 51). In medieval Germany the nine years' wolf was supposed to give birth to *adders*, Ms. 2, 234[b]; to which may be compared Loki's begetting the wolf Fenrir and the snake Iörmungandr (p. 246), and that gandr again means wolf.

[2] A married couple lived in poverty; yet, to the man's astonishment, his wife contrived to serve up meat at every meal, concealing for a long time how she obtained it; at length she promised to reveal the secret, only, while she did so, he must not pronounce her name. They went together to the fields, where a flock of sheep was grazing, the woman bent her steps toward it, and when they were come near, she threw a *ring* over herself, and instantly became a *werewolf*, which fell upon the flock, seized one sheep, and made off with it. The man stood petrified; but when he saw shepherd and dogs run after the wolf, and his wife in danger, he forgot his promise, and cried 'ach Margareit!' The wolf disappeared, and the woman stood naked in the field (Hess. Folktale).

over it, the bride, bridegroom and six bridesmen were turned into werewolves. They fled from the cottage, and for three years ran howling round the witch's house. At length the day of their deliverance came. The witch brought a pelisse with the fur turned outwards, and as soon as she covered a werewolf with it, his human shape returned; the covering reached over the bridegroom's body, all but the tail, so he became a man again, but kept the wolf's tail. Schafarik (Slow. st. 1, 167) observes, that in a very marked degree these wolf-stories are native to Volhynia and White Russia, and thence draws an argument for his opinion that the Neuri were a Slavic race.

According to the French Lai de Melion pp. 49. 50, the man, when *undressed*,[1] must be touched with a *magic ring*: forthwith he turns into a wolf, and runs after game. Marie de Fr. 1, 182 makes a knight become a bisclaveret three days every week, and run about naked in the wood; if the clothes he has laid aside be removed, he has to remain a wolf.[2] Pluquet (Cont. pop. 15) remarks, that he can only be delivered by being beaten with a key till he bleeds.

The common belief among us is, that the transformation is effected by *tying a strap round the body*; this girth is only three fingers broad, and is cut out of human skin. Such a *werwolf* is to be distinguished from natural wolves by his truncated tail. From the witch-records of Lorrain we learn, that when stalks of grass were pulled up, blessed and thrown against a tree, wolves sprang forth, and immediately fell upon the flock; Remigius pp. 152. 162 leaves it doubtful whether the men that threw the grass themselves turned into wolves, but from p. 261 we can think no otherwise. Bodin's Dæmonomanie (Fischart's transl. p. 120 seq.) has several werewolf stories. Rhenish and Westphalian superstition makes men alone become wolves; maids and matrons change into an *ütterbock* (uddered buck, hermaphrodite?): an uncanny old hag is called 'the cursed *ütterbock*!' According to a peculiar Danish superstition (K, 167), if a bride uses a certain specified charm to secure painless labour, her sons become *vär-*

[1] But he begs people to keep his clothes safe for him: 'ma despoille me gardez,' as in the Aesopian fable: δέομαί σου, ἵνα φυλάξῃς τὰ ἱμάτιά μου.

[2] I have not read the O.E. tale of William and the Werewolf in Hartshorne's Anc. metr. tales.

ülve, her daughters *marer* (nightmares). Thiele 1, 133 remarks, that the werewolf goes in human shape by day, yet so that his *eyebrows grow together* over the nose,[1] but at a certain time of night he turns into a *three-legged dog*, and can only be set free by some one calling him 'werewolf.' Burchard's account also seems to make lycanthropy something innate to man (see Suppl.)

That a change of the human form into that of the *bear* should also be familiar to Norse antiquity, is no surprising thing, as that animal was considered rational (Reinh., app. on p. lvi), and held in high esteem, p. 667. Finnbogi talks to him, and calls him *bessi*, Finnb. saga p. 246. A Danish song makes the transformation take place by tying an *iron collar* round one's neck, DV. 1, 184. In Norway it is believed that the Laplanders *turn into bears*: of a bear that is uncommonly daring and destructive they say, 'this can't be any christian bear.' An old bear in Ofoden's prästegjeld, who had killed six men and over sixty horses, had the same reputation, and when at last he was slain, a *girdle* is said to have been found on him (Sommerfelt Saltd. prästeg. p. 84).

Conversion into the *cat* has most of all to do with the works and ways of home-sprites (pp. 503-9): there is nowhere the slightest hint of donning any belt or shirt. It is a common saying, that a cat of twenty years turns witch, and a witch of a hundred turns cat again. Vintler (Sup. G, l. 232) notices the assumption of *cat-shape*. As was the case with night-wives (p. 1060), examples occur in almost every witch-trial, and particularly common is the story of the wounded cat, whom you afterwards recognise in a bandaged woman. Cats meeting you are of double meaning, Sup. I, 643. One should never hurt a strange cat; the witch might serve you out. A farmer took on to ail from the day of his wedding: on that day he had shied a stone at a cat that walked into his yard with a *saddle on her*. The saddled cat is a kind of Puss-in-boots, KM. 3, 259. Wolf's Wodana pp. 123. 131 has stories of magic cats. But the cat is also to be spared because she was Frouwa's favorite beast (p. 305): if it rains on your wedding-day, they say in the Wetterau 'you have *starved the cat*,' and so offended the messenger or

[1] Otherwise a mark of the witch or wizard who can set the *alb* on other men: he comes out of their *eyebrows* in butterfly shape, Deut. sag. 1, 132.

handmaid of the love-goddess. Now night-wives and witches apparently travel in the train of that divinity.

The *goose* too is a magic beast, and easily referable to the nobler *swan* of older legend. A sportsman shot at some *wild geese* and hit one, which fell into the bushes; when he came up to the place, there sat a *naked woman* unhurt, whom he knew very well, and who begged hard that he would not betray her, but get some clothes sent her from her house. He threw her his handkerchief to cover herself with, and sent the clothes (Mone's Anz. 6, 395). Niclas von Wyle, in the Dedication to his translation of Apuleius, tells us of a different case, which he had heard from the lips of Michel von Pfullendorf, clerk to the Imp. treasury: An innkeeper had through a *woman's witcheries* (gemecht, conf. make = conjure, p. 1032) been a *wild goose* for more than a year, and flown about with other such geese, till one day a goose that he was quarrelling and snapping with, happened to *tear from off his neck the little kerchief* in which the enchantment was knit up: again therefore a *swan-ring*, except that the witch does not wear it herself, but has changed an innocent man into the beast, just as werewolves are by turns enchanters and enchanted. In Kinderm. 193 *white strips of cloth* take the place of the swan-shift.

As the raven stands on a par with the wolf, we may fairly assume transformations of magicians into *ravens*, though I can think of no example: trolds in Dan. songs often appear as ravens, p. 993. Perhaps witches may be found turning into *crows* rather, as we already hear of an ôskmey (wish-maid, Völs. cap. 2): 'hun brâ â sik *krâku* ham, ok flýgr;' and Marpalie in Wolfdietrich doffs her garments, claps her hands (p. 1026 n.) and turns into a *crow* (see Suppl.).

If the cast-off clothing, human or animal, be removed (p. 427-9), a re-assumption of the former shape becomes impossible; hence in legend and fairytale the practice of secretly burning the beast's hide when stript off.[1] Yet the human shape may be restored on this condition, that a spotless maid keep silence for seven years, and spin and sew a *shirt* to be thrown over the enchanted person, KM. 1, 53. 246. 3, 84. And such a *shirt* not only undoes the

[1] Aw. 1, 165. KM. 2, 264. Straparola 2, 1. Pentam. 2, 5. Vuk 1, xxxix seq. Fornald. sög. 2, 150-1.

charm, but makes one spell-proof and victorious (Sup. I, 656. 708);[1] in the last passage, victory in a lawsuit has taken the place of the old victory in battle. In the Mid. Ages it was called *St. George's shirt*, and was spun on a *Saturday* (Vintler; conf. Sup. I, 333 the *thread spun on Christmas night*); Wolfdietrich receives it from Siegminne, i.e. from a wise spinning norn or valkyr (p. 434): obviously the old heathen idea was afterwards transferred to the conquering saint of the christian church. Not unlike are the *golden shirt* that defends from drowning, Beow. 1095, and the *frid-hemede* (App. Spells x); a woven flag of victory will be mentioned p. 1112. To me these famous shirts of fate seem connected with the threads and webs of the norns and dame Holda. A magic weaving and spinning was probably ascribed to witches, who in Sup. I, 824 are called *field-spinsters*; and Burchard's allusions to the superstition 'in lanificiis et ordiendis telis' are worth comparing, Sup. C, int. 52, and p. 193[d]. Hincmar of Rheims (Opp. 1, 656) speaks of sorceries 'quas *superventas* feminae in suis lanificiis vel textilibus operibus nominant'; again p. 654: 'quidam etiam *vestibus carminatis* induebantur vel cooperiebantur.'[2] A similar thing is the magic and spell in the case of *swords*, conf. p. 687-8 (see Suppl.).

There may be magic in the *mere look*, without bodily contact, what our old speech called *entsehen* (p. 1035), Ital. *gettare* gli sguardi, Neapol. *jettatura*, fascino dei malvagi occhi. The bleared, envious, *evil eye*[3] of a witch who walks in (Sup. I, 787), let alone her *breath* and *greeting*, can injure in a moment, dry up the mother's milk, make the babe consumptive, spoil a dress, rot an apple, *visu fascinare* (p. 1066 and Sup. C, p. 199[d]): 'the coat is so handsome, the apple so red, no *evil eye* (onda öga, Sup. Swed. 57) must look upon it;' *hurtful look*, Sup. I, 874; *obliquus oculus*, Hor. Epist. i. 14, 37. Of sick cattle especially they say:

[1] This *shirt of victory* reminds us of the child's *shirt of luck* (p. 874), which in Denmark is likewise called a *victor's shirt* (seyers-hue, -hielm, -serk). If we may ascribe high antiquity to the phrase 'born with *helmet* on,' such *seyers-hielm* foretells the future hero. Conf. Bulenger 3, 30 on *amniomantia*, i.e. divinatio per amnium seu membranam tertiam embryonis.

[2] Disenchanting or defensive shirts have their counterpart in *bewitching baneful* ones. In a Servian song (Vuk 3, 30, l. 786) a *gold shirt* is neither spun nor woven, but knitted, and a snake is worked into the collar. The shirt sent to Herakles, drenched in dragon's blood, is well known.

[3] *übel ougen*, Parz. 407, 8 are spiteful eyes; whereas 'ein *bæse ouge*' 71, 16 is a weak, sore eye.

'some *evil eye* has been at it'; to look at a beast with sharp eyes. In Virgil's Ecl. 3, 103: 'nescio quis teneros *oculus* mihi fascinat agnos.' The Renner 18014 says, the glance of the eye kills snakes, scares wolves, hatches ostrich-eggs, breeds leprosy. Radulfi ardentis Homil. 42ᵃ: 'cavete ab illis qui dicunt, quosdam *oculis urentibus* alios fascinare.' Persius 2, 34 has *urentes oculi*; and *fascinare*, *βασκαίνειν* with the ancients meant chiefly this kind of sorcery. The ON. expression is *sion-hverfing*, look-throwing: 'sundr stauk sûla for sion iötuns,' asunder burst the pillar at the look of the giant, Sæm. 53ᵇ. Stîgandi can by his look destroy anything; when taken prisoner, they pull a bag over his head (dreginn belgr â höfut honum): he peeps through a hole in the sack, and *with one look* spoils a field of grass, Laxd. p. 152-6. Different and yet similar are the *sharp eyes* of certain heroes (p. 391) and maids, e.g. Svanhildr being bound is to be kicked to death by horses: 'er hun (when she) *brâ î sundr augum*, þâ þorðu eigi (dared not) hestarnir at spora hana; ok er Bikki sâ þat, mælti hann, at belg skyldi draga â höfuð henni,' Fornald. sög. 1, 226. And of one Sigurðr we are told in Fornm. sög. 2, 174: 'at hann hefði *snart augnabragð*, at allir hundar hurfu frâ honum, ok var enginn svâ grimmr at þyrði â hann at râða, er hann *hvesti augun* îmôt þeim,' as dogs cannot endure the look of spirits and gods (p. 667). Any one possessed of this perilous power, who is *evil-eyed*, can prevent its baneful operation by directing his looks to a lifeless object. The phrase 'no one shall say black is your eye' means, no one can exactly report any harm of you (Brockett p. 66). Has that peculiar conformation of the witch's eye-pupil (p. 1080) anything to do with her evil eye? As a safeguard against its influence, the paw of the *blind* mole is worn [1] (see Suppl.).

But as great beauty enchants by the radiant glance of the eye, it has also magic power in the *smiling* of the lips. In a Mod. Greek song, when the charming maid *laughs, roses fall into her apron* (*ὁποῦ γελᾷ, καὶ πέφτουνε τὰ ῥόδα 'ς τὴν ποδιάν της*), Fauriel 2, 382. In Heinr. von Neuenstadt's Apollonius of Tyre, composed about 1400, it is asked l. 182: 'wâ sach man

[1] It is another thing for conjurors to *blind the eyes* of men by jugglery: 'sunt et praestigiatores, qui alio nomine *obstrigilli* vocantur, quod praestringant vel obstringant humanorum aciem oculorum,' Hincm. Rem. ed. 1645. 1, 656.

rôsen lachen?' and then follows a tale about a man who *laughs roses:*

'der *lachet, daz ez vol rôsen was,*
perg und tal, laub und gras.'

A Nethl. proverb (Tuinman 1, 306) says: 'als hy *lacht,* dan *sneuwt het rozen.*' The myth must have been very popular, as I frequently find in records (e.g. Böhmer's Cod. francof. 1, 185), and even at the present day, the names *Rosenlacher, Rosenlächler, Blumlacher.* The same poem of Apollonius has at l. 2370:

er kuste sie wol dreissig stunt (30 times)
an iren *rôsenlachenden* munt (mouth);

other passages to the point are quoted Aw. 1, 74-5. Gifted children of fortune have the power to laugh roses, as Freyja wept gold; probably in the first instance they were pagan beings of light, who spread their brightness in the sky over the earth, 'rose-children, sun-children,' Georg 48-9, *laughing* daybreaks (p. 747), *rose-strewing* Eos (p. 749). Mart. Cap. says, a silver urn 'quæ præferebat serena fulgentia et vernantis coeli temperie renidebat' was called *risus Jovis* (see Suppl.).

The *kissing mouth* has even greater power than the smiling. It is a recurring feature in our nursery-tales, that a *kiss* makes one *forget* everything (KM. 2, 168. 508), yet also that it brings back remembrance (2, 463). The unbinding of a spell hangs upon a *kiss* (p. 969). In the Norse legends *oblivion* is produced by a potion called *ôminnis-öl* (-ale), *ôminnis-dryckr,* the opposite of *minnis-öl* (p. 59): such an ôminnisöl Grimhild hands to Sigurð, who thereupon forgets Brynhild; and Goðrun, before she could forget Sigurð and choose Atli, had to drink an *ôminnis-veig,* whose magical concoction the poem describes, Sæm. 223^{b}. 234^{a}. So valkyrs, elfins and enchantresses offer to heroes their drinking-horns (p. 420), that they may forget all else and stay with them; conf. the Swed. tale in Afzelius 2, 159. 160 and the song in Arvidsson 2, 179. 282, where the miner makes the maiden drink of the *glömskans horn* and forget father and mother, heaven and earth, sun and moon. Now, seeing that *minna* in the Swed. folksongs and *minde* in the Dan. signify to kiss (minna uppå munnen, Sv. vis. 3, 123-4. D. vis. 1, 256. 298), as φιλεῖν is amare and osculari, and with us in the 16th cent. 'to set the seal

of love' is roundabout for kissing; there must be a close connection between kissing and the minne-drinking at sacrifices and in sorcery.[1] But magic potions are of various kinds and extreme antiquity, their manufacture trenches on the healing art and poison-mixing (see Suppl.). *Love-drinks* have *love-cakes* to keep them company. Burchard describes how women, after rolling naked in wheat, took it to the mill, had it ground against the sun (ON. andsœlis, inverso ordine), and then baked it into bread. Popular superstition in Samland makes out, that when a wife perceives her husband growing indifferent toward her, she lays aside a piece of the raw dough from nine successive bakings of bread or scones, then bakes him a scone out of the pieces, on eating which his former love returns. The Esthonians have a karwakak (hair-bread), a loaf into which hairs have been baked as a charm. The *love-apples*, in which symbols were inscribed (Hoffm. Schles. monatschr. p. 754), are to the same purpose (see Suppl.).

There are certain *safeguards* in general use against *magic*. One should *not answer* a witch's question (Sup. I, 59), *not thank* her for her greeting (568); for certain kindnesses and gifts, if they are to do you good, it is advisable *not to thank* any one (398. Swed. 35. 52. Esth. 94). A witch may be known by her *thanking* you for lending things (I, 566); she *never answers three times* (563).—Whatever she *praises* will turn out ill, unless you promptly reply with railing, reviling, wishing 'the same to you' (696), or spitting. To praise one to his face does harm, Pliny 28, 2. 'Si ultra placitum laudarit, baccare frontem cingite, ne vati noceat *mala lingua* futuro,' Virg. Ecl. 7, 27; hence in praising oneself a 'praefiscini' (prae fascino?) was added, Plaut. Asin. ii. 4, 84. Insult and imprecation the ancients turned aside with the words: εἰς κεφαλήν σοι, on thy head may it fall!—The Mod. Greeks and Slavs are shy of praise, and try to save themselves by *spitting*: a Russian nurse directly *spits in the face* of one who cracks up her baby without putting in the precautionary 'God save the mark!' Before a witch's house you *spit three times* (Sup. I, 756), the same in crossing a haunted water by night

[1] Minna = to kiss may indeed seem a corruption of mynna (to give mouth), ON. mynnaz, conf. mundes minne, MsH. 1, 45ᵃ; still the other explanation has its weight too.

(Swed. 40); the Greeks at sight of a madman spat *thrice into their bosom*, Theocr. 6, 39. 21, 11. '*ter* dictis *despue* carminibus,' Tibull. i. 2, 55. Home-sprites cannot bear *spitting* (p. 514); conf. Sup. I, 317. 453. To the same effect, and worth reading, is what Pliny 28, 4 says on *despuere, adspuere, inspuere, exspuere*.—In case of need you may without scruple *strike* a suspected witch, and draw blood (p. 1096), or throw a *firebrand* at her (Sup. Swed. 96).—*Bread, salt* and *coals* are a protective against magic (I, 564. 713), as witches abstain from bread and salt (p. 1071). I fancy that *pipping* of the loaf, so distasteful to the wood-wives (p. 484), was a sacred magic-averting symbol; conf. 'placenta *digito notata*' in Lasicz 49.—Throw a *steel* over enchanted beasts, and they are bound to resume their natural shape (Sup. I, 886);[1] throw a *knife marked with the cross* over a witch, and you recognise her (554); when a man threw *steel* between the elfin and the hill, it prevented her going into it (p. 467); *steel* insures the child in the cradle from being changed. Instances of magic thus averted by *steel* we find in Faye 20. 24-5-6. 51. 141; conf. Sup. Swed. 71.—Witches and devils shun the *sign of the cross*: that is why we see so many crosses on the doors the first night in May. The peasant ploughs a *cross* into each corner of his field. On the cradles of infants before they were christened, the *cross* was lavishly employed to guard against elf or devil; just so the heathens used their *hammer*, and there is a remarkable vestige of it forthcoming still: '*malleum*, ubi puerpera decumbit, *obvolvunt candido linteo*' (Gisb. Voetii sel. disput. theol. Ultraj. 1659, pars 3 p. 121.)—No less do evil spirits hate and shun the sound of *bells* (pp. 1022-74); it disturbs their dance at the cross-road, Sup. I, 542.—To this must be added the methods mentioned p. 1078 of recognising witches and guarding against them (see Suppl.).

These are the most distinctive phenomena in the world of Magic. Many, indeed most magic appliances run over into Superstition, between which and magic proper it is impossible to draw a fixed boundary. I have indeed put forward, as a distinguishing mark of sorcery, the malicious design to do mischief,

[1] A peasant was driving his waggon one night, when a werewolf approached. To disenchant him, the man had the presence of mind instantly to tie his *fire-steel* to the lash of his whip, and fling it over the wolf's head, keeping the whip in his hand. But the wolf caught the steel, and the peasant had to save himself by speedy flight.

and it does seem to have resulted from *inverting* the wholesome use of occult forces in nature (pretty much as the devil from an inversion of God, p. 986); but particular applications of the true and the false art cannot always be kept apart. As a herb, a stone, a spell proves a source of healing, so may it also act perniciously too; the use was proper and permissible, the abuse abhorred and punished. A poisoner as such is not a witch, she becomes one in the eyes of the people the moment she uses preternatural means. A wise woman, healing sickness and charming wounds, begins to pass for a witch only when with her art she does evil; her means are as natural as the poison of the murderess. To higher antiquity, witches were priestesses, physicians, fabulous night-wives, whom men honoured, feared, and at last made light of, but never dreamt as yet of persecuting and executing. Maidens might turn into swans, heroes into werewolves, and lose nothing in popular estimation. In course of time, when the Devil's complicity with every kind of sorcery came to be assumed, the guilt of criminality fell upon all *personal* relations [with him]; but the people for the most part continued to practise their long-accustomed charms in the innocent sense of superstition, though a suspicion of sorcery was more likely to overshadow it now than before.

CHAPTER XXXV.

SUPERSTITION.

By Superstition is to be understood, not the whole body of heathen religion, which we think of as a delusion, a false belief, but the retention of particular heathen practices and principles. The christian convert rejected and loathed the gods of the heathen, but still there lingered in his heart notions and habits, which having no obvious reference to the old faith, seemed not directly opposed to the new. Wherever Christianity has left a vacuum, where its spirit could not at once penetrate the ruder minds, there *superstition* or *over-belief* grew rank. In Low German they say *bi-glove* by-belief, in Nethl. *overgelôf*, *bygelôf*, Dan. *overtro*, Icel. *hiatrû*, all modelled on the Latin *superstitio*, which itself is traceable to superstes (surviving), and denotes a persistence of individual men in views which the common sense of the majority has abandoned. A fortune-teller was to the Romans 'superstitiosus homo.' And the Swed. term *vidskepelse* seems primarily to mean a sort of magic, not superstition (p. 1036; see Suppl.).[1]

There are two kinds of superstition, an *active* and a *passive*, one being more the *augurium*, *sortilegium*, the other more the *omen* of the ancients.[2] If, without man's active participation, some startling sign be vouchsafed him by a higher power, he prognosticates from it good hap or ill. If the sign did not arise of itself, if he elicits it by his own contrivance, then there is positive superstition. Naturally christianity succeeded better in combating the positive superstition that was mixed up with heathen rites, than the negative and involuntary, which swayed the mind of man as the fear of ghosts does.

[1] Also Swed. skrok, skråk, superstitio; the ON. skrök, figmentum. OHG. *gameitheit* superstitio, vanitas, Graff 2, 702. In Mod. Germ. I find *zipfel-glaube*, Schmid's Schwäb. id. 547. Lett. *blehnu tizziba*, faith in idle things (blehnas).

[2] Divine omnipotence produces *miracles* (p. 1031), a chance phenomenon mere *presages*, *omina*, *portenta*, in which sense Ulphilas renders *τέρατα* by *faûratanja*, Mk. 13, 22. John 6, 26. 1 Cor. 12, 12. With tani I can hardly connect anything but ON. teningr, talus, or OHG. zeno, provoco, Graff 5, 673 (see Suppl.).

The usages of active superstition always have some practical aim. A man wants to escape a present evil, to throw off a sickness, to get rid of his enemy, or he wishes to know and secure his future luck. And here we must not overlook how often, according to a difference of period or nationality, the same customs acquire a new relation and meaning,[1] being often torn away from their connexion, e.g. what had a distinct reference to sacrifice will, standing by itself, be unintelligible; and the same was the case with the objects of sorcery. What our forefathers hoped or feared had reference more to war and victory; the farmer of today cares about his corn and cattle. If the heathen sorceress with her hail destroys the host of the enemy, the modern witch makes foul weather for her neighbour's field. So the farmer promises himself a plenteous crop on the strength of an omen that in olden time betokened victory. Yet farming and cattle-breeding have a long history too, and a number of superstitious rites connected with them stretch without a break through many centuries. Likewise all the superstitions that look to domestic life, to birth and death, wooing and wedding, are rooted in nature, and almost unchangeable through the lapse of ages; superstition constitutes a kind of religion for all the lower kind of household wants.

Divinations form a leading feature of superstition. Man would fain lift the veil that time and space have cast over his weightiest concerns; by the use of mysterious means he thinks he can arrive at the truth. Divination lawful and unlawful has always been a function of the *priest* (or head of a family) and of the *magician* (p. 862-3): the one belongs to religion, the other to superstition.

Various words for divining and soothsaying were given at the beginning of last chapter, when we had to settle the meaning of magic. I have now to add an OHG. *heilisôn* augurari (AS. hâlsian); *heilisôd* omen, augurium; *heilisari* augur (AS. hâlsere), *heilisara* auguratrix. In MHG. these words had died out. One

[1] It is conceivable that remnants of the old Roman divinatio were still in vogue at the time of the Lombards: 'habebat tunc Agilulf quendam de suis *aruspicem puerum*, qui per artem diabolicam, quid futurum portenderent *ictus fulminum* intelligebat,' Paul. Diac. 3, 30. The Etruscan haruspicia were especially directed to fulgura, O. Müll. 2, 32.

must distinguish them from OHG. heilizan salutare, AS. hâletan (see Suppl.).

The sacred priestly divination appears, like the priestly office itself (p. 93), to have been *hereditary* in families. A female fortune-teller declared that the gift had long been in her family, and on her death the grace would descend to her *eldest daughter* (Sup. H, cap. 107) : from *mother* to *daughter* therefore, and from *father* to *son;* by some it is maintained that soothsaying and the gift of healing must be handed down from *women* to *men*, from *men* to *women*. To this day there are families that have the peculiar gift of foreseeing what will happen, especially fires, deaths and corpses : in L. Germany they call such people *vorkiekers*, fore-peepers. It is also said they can *quad sehn*, i.e. see or scent any coming misfortune, nay, the power is even allowed to horses, sheep and dogs : *horses* prophesy (p. 658), *hounds* can see spirits (p. 667). And notice in particular, that such men can impart their gift to him that *treads on their right foot and looks over their left shoulder;* this was apparently a very ancient, even a heathen posture, it was a legal formality in taking possession of cattle (RA. 589), and may have been tolerated among christians in other cases, e.g. one who is doing penance has to *step on the right foot* of the hermit, Ls. 1, 593. The first child christened at a newly consecrated font receives the power to see spirits and coming events, until some one shall from idle curiosity *tread on his left foot* and *look over his right shoulder*, when the gift will pass away to him, Sup. I, 996 ; on the other hand, he that *looks through the loop of the wise man's arm* (p. 939) becomes a seer of spirits, he beholds the natural and preternatural : even to the dog the gift descends, if you *tread on his right foot* and make him look over your *right shoulder*, Sup. I, 1111. Again, children born with the helmet can *see spirits*, ghosts or witches (p. 874n.). In all this we see the last quiverings of life in practices of the heathen priesthood, before they pass into mere conjuring and witchcraft (see Suppl.).

Divination is directed mainly to the discovery of *future* things, they being the most uncertain. The *past* is done and known, or can be ascertained in many ways ; what goes on in the *present*, at a distance, we seldom feel any temptation to find out; an

instance occurred at p. 1091n., where the pilgrim is enabled by magic to see what is going on at his home. Yet the *present* has its puzzles too, when methods have to be decided on, especially property to be divided.

When events and deeds of the *past* were wrapt in obscurity, antiquity had a thrice-hallowed means of discovery, the *ordeals* or judgments of God, a retrospective divination of sure and infallible success, such as judicial procedure demanded. But to every German ordeal it is essential that the accused should perform its ritus himself; in no case could it be placed in the judge's hands. This fact distinguishes it from the *sieve-driving* or *sieve-turning* practised since the Mid. Ages, which was performed by wise women, witches, conjurors, and even by respectable persons, to bring concealed criminals to light: the woman held a sieve that was an heirloom between her two middle fingers, uttered a spell, and then went over the names of suspected persons; when she came to that of the culprit, the sieve began to *sway and tilt over*.[1] The plan was adopted against thieves, and such as in a tumult had inflicted wounds; and sometimes to reveal the future, e.g. who should be a girl's sweetheart. I find the first mention of it in the poem cited on p. 1048: 'und daz ein *wîp ein sîb tribe*, sunder vleisch und sunder ribe, dâ niht inne wære,' this I take to be a lie, says the author; his incredulity seems to rest on the tilting over, the sieve is void, has neither flesh nor bone. The sieve was also laid on a pair of tongs, which were held up between the two middle fingers. In Denmark the master of the house himself took the trial in hand, balancing the sieve on the point of a pair of scissors, Sup. Dan. 132. This sieve-running (sieve-chasing, sieve-dance) must have been very common in France and Germany in the 16-17th

[1] Sieve-running is described differently in the Meckl. jahrb. 5, 108: A sieve inherited from kinsfolk is set up on its edge, an inherited pair of scissors is opened and its points stuck into the sieve's edge deep enough to lift it by. Then two persons of different families take it to a perfectly dark place, put the middle finger of the right hand under the scissors' ring, and so raise the sieve. At the slightest movement of course the ring will slip off the finger, and the sieve fall, as in the dark it does not hang quite perpendicular. Then one begins to ask the other: 'I ask thee in the name of G., etc., tell me truth and lie not, who stole so and so? did Hans, Fritz, Peter?' At the name of the guilty party the *ring slips off*, the *sieve falls to the ground*, and the thief is known. In all the other descriptions I have read, the thing is done in daylight, and the sieve does not fall, but *spins round*.

cent., many books mention it, and couple together sieve-turners and spell-speakers;[1] it may here and there be still in use, conf. Stender sub v. 'seetinu tezzinaht,' and his Gram. p. 299; it seems the Lettons stick it on a pair of shears. But it was already known to the Greeks, Theocritus 3, 31 mentions a *κοσκινόμαντις*, and Lucian (Alex. 7) speaks of *κοσκίνῳ μαντεύεσθαι* among the Paphlagonians; Potter 1, 766 thus describes the process of *κοσκινομαντεία*: they held up the sieve by a string, prayed to the gods, then ran over the names of the suspects; at that of the doer the sieve *set off spinning* (see Suppl.).

In the same way people stuck a *hereditary key* in the Bible (at the first chap. of John),[2] or a *cleaver* in a wooden ball, which began to move when they came to the right name, Sup. I, 932. I surmise that the *revolution of the lotter-wood* worn by spruchsprecher (lotter-buben, frei-harte, H. Sachs iv. 3, 58[a]) was also for divining purposes; in the early Fragm. 15[c] we find: 'louf umbe lotterholz, louf umbe gedrâte!' On this I shall be more explicit in another place.

It may be regarded as a relic of the judicium offae or casei (RA. 932), that those suspected of a theft were made to eat of a *consecrated cheese:* the morsel sticks in the throat of the real thief (Sup. H, cap. 51).[3]

[1] Fischart's Dämonom. p. 71. Hartm. on Spells 99. Simplic. 2, 352. Ettner's Apoth. 1187. J. Praetorius on Sieve-running. Curiae Varisc. 1677. 4. Rommel's Hess. gesch. 6, 61. In Burgundy 'tonai le *taimi*,' Noels Borg. p. 374; taimi is the Fr. *tamis*, Nethl. *teems*, in Teutonista *tempse*, but in Diut. 2, 209 *tempf*. If Graff has not misread this, we might make of *Tamfana* (pp. 80. 257. 278) a goddess named after the sieve she held in her hand; that would look heathenish.

[2] H. Stahl's Westfal. sagen, Elberf. 1831. p. 127 gives a fuller account: The hered. key is put inside a hered. Bible, so that the ward part of the key lies on the words 'In the beginning was the Word,' and the ring stands out of the book. They tie it up tight with string, and hang it up by the end of the string to the ceiling. Then two people hold their fingers under the ring, touching it gently, and the injured party asks: 'has there been a witch at my cow?' The other must say No, and the complainant answer Yes, and this they keep up for some time. If the cow be really bewitched, the Bible begins to *turn round*, and then more questions are asked. If there has been no witchery, or the wrong witch is named, the Bible remains still. The turnings of *sieve* and *key* resemble those of the *wishing-rod*, p. 975.

[3] The Observationes ad Ivonis epistolas p. 157 have the following: 'Formulae in codicibus monasteriorum, quibus ad detegenda furta jubebatur oratio dominica scribi *in pane et caseo*, postea fieri *cruces de tremulo*, quarum una sub dextero pede, alia super caput suspecti viri poneretur, deinde post varias numinis invocationes imprecari, ut lingua et guttur rei alligaretur, *ne transglutire posset*, sed eorum [coram?] omnibus *tremeret*, nec haberet quo requiesceret. Cf. formulam Dunstani Cantuar. editam a Pitthoeo in glossario capitulariorum.' Against crossing cheeses (de *caseis cruce non signandis*) several ordinances were issued in the 15th cent. (docs. of 1430, '48, '70, '77 in Monum. boic. 16. 50. 55. 58. 61).

Other methods of forecasting the future were likewise available for detecting thieves or any malefactors.

The *lot* (OHG. hlôz, Goth. hláuts, AS. hleát, ON. hlutr) was the venerablest and fairest of all kinds of divination. A difficult and doubtful matter was to be raised thereby above human caprice and passion, and receive the highest sanction, e.g. in dividing an inheritance, in ascertaining the right victim (conf. p. 230), and so forth. Lot therefore decides a *present* uncertainty, but it may also extend to the *future*. Originally placed in the hands of a priest or judge, it afterwards became an instrument of sorcery (p. 1034-7), and sortilegus, sortiarius, sorcier are all derived from *sors*. Our OHG. *hliozan* seems in like manner to have passed out of the meaning sortiri into that of augurari, incantare, which it retains in its MHG. form *liezen*, Hoffm. fundgr. 2, 67. Er. 8123.

It was managed in two ways: the priest or the paterfamilias *cast* the lot, and interpreted it when fallen, or he held it out to the party to *draw*; the first was for indicating the future, the last for adjusting the present.

Let Tacitus describe the first kind: 'Sortium consuetudo simplex. *Virgam*, frugiferae arbori decisam, *in surculos amputant*, eosque notis quibusdam discretos *super candidam vestem* temere ac fortuitu spargunt. Mox si publice consuletur, *sacerdos* civitatis, sin privatim ipse *pater familiae*, precatus deos coelumque suspiciens, *ter singulos tollit*, sublatos secundum impressam ante notam interpretatur. Si *prohibuerunt*, nulla de eadem re in eundem diem consultatio; sin *permissum*, auspiciorum adhuc fides exigitur,' Germ. 10.——Here the lots are but preliminary to the entire transaction, and if they prove unfavourable, further divination is not proceeded with. I need not transcribe the important explanations my Brother has given in his work on Runes pp. 296—307. A connexion there certainly is between these lots and the runes and ciphers; lot-books are mentioned as early as the 13th cent., Ls. 3, 169. Kolocz. 70 (see Suppl.).

The Armenians prophesied from the movement of cypress boughs: 'quarum *cupressorum surculis ramisque* seu leni sive violento vento *agitatis* Armenii flamines ad longum tempus in auguriis uti consueverunt,' as Moses Chorenensis (ed. 1736, p. 54) tells us in the 5th cent.

A long array of *divinations* seems to have been diffused over Europe by the Greeks and Romans;[1] from this source come Hartlieb's accounts of *hydromantia, pyromantia* (the fiur-sehen of Altd. bl. 1, 365), *chiromantia* (MHG. the *tisch in der hant*, Er. 8136), on which see more in Haupt's Zeitschr. 3, 271 (see Suppl.). The crystal-gazing of the pure child, Sup. H, cap. 90, is the '*gastromantia* ex vase aqua pleno, cujus meditullium (belly of the jar) vocabatur γάστρη.'[2]

More to the purpose are customs peculiar to certain nations, and not traceable to the above source: in these we either find a different procedure, or the forecasts are gathered from natural objects by *lying in wait, listening, looking.*

Our ancestors (acc. to Tac. Germ. 3) contrived to foresee the issue of a battle by the spirited or faltering delivery of the *war-song.*

The ancient Poles *reckoned on victory* if water *drawn in a sieve* was carried before the army *without running through.* I quote the words of the Chronicon Montis Sereni (Menken 2, 227. Hoffm. script. rer. lus. 4, 62): Anno 1209 Conradus, orientalis marchio, Lubus castrum soceri sui Wlodislai ducis Poloniae, propter multas quas ab eo patiebatur injurias, obsedit. Wlodislaus vero, obsidionem vi solvere volens, collecto exercitu copioso, marchioni mandavit, se ei altera die congressurum. Vespere autem diei praecedentis Oderam fluvium cum suis omnibus transgressus, improvisus supervenire hostibus moliebatur. Unus vero eorum qui supani dicuntur vehementer ei coepit obsistere, monens ne tempus pugnae statutum praeveniret, quia hoc factum nullius rectius quam infidelitatis posset nomine appellari. Quem dum dux timiditatis argueret, et fidelitatis qua ei teneretur commoneret, respondit: 'ego quidem ad pugnam pergo, sed scio me patriam meam de cetero non visurum.' Habebat autem (sc. Wlodislaus) ducem belli *pythonissam* quandam, quae de flumine *cribro haustam nec defluentem,* ut ferebatur, *ducens aquam exercitum praecedebat, et hoc signo eis victoriam promittebat.* Nec latuit marchionem

[1] Alphabetically arranged in Fabricii Bibliogr. antiq. (ed. 3 Hamb. 1760), 4, pp. 593—613. Conf. Potter's Archäol. 1, 758—769.

[2] Melber de Geroltzhofen says in Vocabularius predicantium (sheet R 4): '*Nigromantia.* schwartz kunst die do ist mit *vffsehung der dotten,* mit den der nigromanticus zaubert, oder mit den *dryen ersten schollen,* die der pfaff wirfft ynsz grab, oder mit den *wydhopffen, die do lauffen by den grebern.*' The passage is also quoted from Melber in Jod. Eychman's Vocab. predic., Nürnbg 1483.

adventus eorum, sed mature suis armatis et ordinatis occurrens, forti congressu omnes in fugam vertit, *pythonissa primitus interfecta.* Ille etiam supanus viriliter pugnans cum multis aliis interfectus est.——What is here an omen of success is elsewhere a test of innocence: a true-hearted boy *carries water in a sieve,* and not a drop runs out, KM. 3, 254; according to Indian belief the innocent can take water up in a lump like a ball. 'Exstat Tucciae vestalis incestae precatio, qua usa *aquam in cribro tulit,*' Pliny 28, 3; a witch sets a girl the task of *fetching water in the sieve,* Norske ev. 1, 88; the vestal had also to carry fire in a brazen sieve (supra p. 611), and a Dan. fairytale in Molbech's Ev. p. 22 actually speaks of carrying the sun in a sieve. The sieve comes before us as a sacred old-world vessel with miraculous properties. What the myth imports the proverb treats as sheer impossibilities: 'er schepfet wazzer mit dem sibe, swer âne vrîe milte mit sper und mit schilte ervehten wil êre und lant,' he draws water in a sieve, who by brute force, etc., Troj. 18536. 'Lympham infundere cribro,' Reinard. 3, 1637 (see Suppl.).

By AS. accounts, the Northmen had a wonderful standard borne before their army, from whose indications they inferred victory or defeat. In Asser's Vita Alfredi p. 33 ad an. 878: '... vexillum quod *reafan* (for raefan, hræfen, ON. hrafn) vocant. Dicunt enim quod tres sorores Hungari et Habbae, filiae videlicet Lodebrochi illud vexillum *texuerunt,* et totum paraverunt illud *uno meridiano tempore.*[1] Dicunt etiam quod in omni bello, *ubi praecederet idem signum, si victoriam adepturi essent, appareret in medio signi quasi corvus vivus volitans;* sin vero vincendi in futuro fuissent, *penderet directe nihil movens:* et hoc saepe probatum est.'——The Encomium Emmae (Duchesne's Script. Norm. 169) says, the flag was of plain white silk, but in war-time there became visible in it a raven, with open beak and fluttering wings whenever victory smiled on them, but sitting still with drooping feathers when it eluded their grasp. Ailredus Rievallensis p. 353 declares this raven to have been the devil himself, who does at times assume the shape of that bird (p. 997); we more naturally see in it the bird of the heathen god of victory (p. 671): Oðinn might give the victorious host this sign that he

[1] The thread spun between 11 and 12 (Sup. I, 841) corresponds wonderfully.

was sending down his messenger. Yet no Scand. story alludes to such a flag of victory.

Prophesying from the auspicious *neighing of horses* has been dealt with, p. 658. Dempster in Antiq. Rom. 3, 9 says: 'equos hinnitu alacriore et ferociore fremitu victoriam ominari etiamnunc militibus persuasum est.' At twelve o'clock on Christmas night the superstitious *listen* at crossroads, at boundary-stones: if they can hear swords rattle and *horses neigh*, there will be war the coming spring (so war is foretold by the neighing in the Furious Host, p. 938). At the same season maids *listen* at the *stable door* for the neighing of stallions, and if they hear it, make sure of a suitor presenting himself by Midsummer (Liebusch's Skythika p. 143). Others lie down *in the horse-manger* at Christmas, to learn future events (Denis Lesefrüchte 1, 128). Misfortune is near when the steed *stumbles*, e.g. the Servian Sharats (Vuk 1, 240).

Spatulamancia in Hartlieb (Sup. H, cap. 115) is a corruption of *scapulimantia*, an art that seems not solely derived from Romans or Byzantines. Lambeck 7, 224 says the Vienna library has a treatise by Michael Psellus (I know not which one) *περὶ ὠμοπλατοσκοπίας*. Vintler too (Sup. G, l. 126) mentions the inspection of *shoulder-bones*. 'Divinationes *sculterren-blat*,' Altd. bl. 1, 365. Jornandes cap. 37: 'Attila diffidens suis copiis, metuens inire conflictum, statuit per aruspices futura inquirere. Qui more solito nunc *pecorum fibras*, nunc quasdam *venas in abrasis ossibus* intuentes, Hunnis infausta denuntiant.'[1] Among the Kalmuks are sorcerers called *dalatchi*, because they predict from the *shoulderblade* (dala) of *sheep*, *swans* and *stags*. They let these bones burn in the fire for a time, then report the aspect of the streaks and lines that have arisen on them. If the fire have left many black marks on the blades, the dalatchi holds out hopes of a mild winter; many white marks indicate snow (Bergm. Nomad. streifer. 3, 184). The Cherkesses too have soothsaying from shoulderblades, conf. Erman's Archiv 1842. 1, 123 (see Suppl.).

[1] Such extispicia were performed on beasts slain for sacrifice; but animals were also killed for the mere purpose of divination: 'Recluso pectore (of a *goose*), extraxit fortissimum *jecur*, et inde mihi futura praedixit,' Petron. 137. 'Quis invenit *fissam jecoris?*' Cic. de Nat. D. 3, 6.

This comes very near the forecasting by the *goose-bone* (ex anserino sterno), Sup. H, cap. 121, which appears among the people in later times, probably even now, conf. Sup. I, 341; K, 163; Meckl. Jahrb. 9, 219 no. 46. I have marked a few passages for extraction. Ettner's Ungew. apoth. p. 1144: 'And what prognostica must not the *breastbones* of *capon*, *goose* and *duck* yield! If the same be red, they ordain an abiding coldness; or if white, clear and transparent, then shall the winter's weather be endurable.' Martinsgans by Joh. Olorinus variscus (Magdeb. 1609. 8), p. 145: 'Good old ladies, I present to you the *breastbone*, that ye learn thereby to foretell true as the almanack, and become weather-prophets. The fore part by the throat signifies the fore-winter, the hinder part the after-winter, white is for snow and mild weather, the other for great cold.' Gansкönig by Lycosthenes Psellionoros (Wolfg. Spangenberg) Strasb. 1607, ciii: 'The *breastbone* which they call the *steed* (made into a prancing horse for children); and well can many an ancient dame, prognosticating by the same, tell by the hue infallibly, how keen the winter's cold shall be.' Rhythmi de ansere (in Dornau 1, 403): 'Then in my breast the *merrythought*, I trow it lies not there for nought, for men therein may plainly see what winter weather it shall be, and many a man holds fast thereto, accounting me a prophet true.'

Those who thus looked after the weather were called *weter-sorgære*, Er. 8127 (*weter-wîser* man 7510), or *weter-kiesære*, -chooser, whence the surname *Kiesewetter*, Gramm. 4, 848; in Rauch's Script. 1, 430 I find a place 'bei der *weterkiesen*,' as if certain spots were favourable to weather-choosing.

The Esthonians foretold *weather* and *fruitfulness* from *bounets*. Gutslaff says in his book on Wöhhanda p. 209: 'I am told that on this beck the husbandmen of old had their augurium respecting weather, which they managed thus. They set in the beck *three baskets* in a row, and not heeding the two outer, gave their mind wholly to the *midmost*, what kind of fish would come into the same. For if into this basket were gotten a *scaleless fish*, as crab, quab or the like, they had ill weather and unfruitful year to dread, and were fain to *sacrifice an ox* for to obtain good weather. Whereupon they set the baskets in as before, and if again a *scaleless fish* were found therein, then a second time did they

sacrifice an ox, and set the baskets in for the third time. If once more they found a *scaleless fish,* then this third time they *sacrificed a child,* in hope to get good weather and a plenteous season. And if yet again *fishes not scaly* were come into the middle basket, they rested therewith content, and with patience abided it. But when *scaly fish* were found therein, they cast them to have fair weather and fruitful year, whereat they rejoiced greatly.' ——A different thing altogether was the Greek *ἰχθυομαντεία* from fish's entrails (Potter's Archäol. 1, 703).

As horses' neighing was watched for (p. 1113), so there was listening at night in the growing *cornfields:* going into the winter-crop on Christmas night to overhear the future, or on May-night into the *green corn,* Sup. I, 420. 854. The cereals were a sacred thing, 'der *heilego ezesg,*' N. ps. 140, 7 (Goth. atisks), 'das *liebe* korn,' Gramm. 3, 665. So then, sitting in the corn, one might hear the sound of voices, hear spirits conversing on coming events. They *listened* also at *cross-ways,* Sup. I, 854. 962, where boundaries touched: the *partings of roads*[1] were accounted meeting-places of sprites and witches (p. 1074 and Sup. I, 647), conf. the ON. 'þar sem götur (roads) mœtast,' Forn. sög. 3, 22. Did images of heathen gods stand where the roads forked? We are told of people praying, sacrificing and lighting candles *ad bivia,* Sup. C, p. 193[d]; and just before that, p. 193[c], we hear of them sitting at the cross-way,[2] without the corn being mentioned: '*in bivio* sedisti *supra taurinam cutem,* ut ibi futura tibi intelligeres?' To me the *bull's hide,* like the *bearskin* (p. 1010, conf. Reinh. p. lvi), indicates heathen sacrifice. And here a Gaelic rite described by Armstrong seems to furnish a valuable clue: A man is wrapt in the *warm skin of an animal just killed,* he is then laid down beside a *waterfall* in the forest, and left alone; by the roar of the waves, it is thought, the future is revealed to him, and this kind of divination is called *taghairn.* The 'forse' too was a sacred spot, as well as the forking of roads:

[1] A Persian superstition: 'sitting down at the *junction of four cross-roads* on a Wedn. night, and applying to yourself every sentence spoken by the passers and considering it as a good or bad omen,' Atkinson, p. 11. 12.

[2] If after supper on Christm. eve a girl *shakes out the tablecloth* at a *crossway,* a man will meet her, and give her good even. Of the same height and figure will her future husband be. The shaken cloth has taken the place of the spread, or, of the animal's hide. Divination by sowing *basilicum* is known to Vuk 1, 22. no. 36 (Wesely p. 58).

this last is mentioned in the Edda, 'opt bölwîsar konor sitja *brauto nær*, þær er deyfa sverð ok sefa,' Sæm. 197ᵇ. Some people on New-year's day would sit on the *house-roof, girt with a sword*, and explore the future, Sup. C, p. 193ᵉ. This again must have been a holy place, for sick children were also set *on the roof* to be cured, Sup. C, 10, 14; p. 195ᵉ. Does this explain why, when a person cannot die, some shingles *in the roof* are turned, or taken right out (I, 439. 721)? Also when a child has convulsions, a plank is turned, J. Schmidt 121. A peculiar practice is, to *listen* while you dangle out of window a ball of thread fastened to a hereditary key, Sup. I, 954.

Sneezing (πταίρειν, sternuere) has from the earliest times been fraught with meaning. Some take it for a mild form of apoplexy, a momentary palsy, during which one loses the free use of his limbs, Sup. H, c. 74. The Greeks saluted the sneezer with ζῆθι, Ζεῦ σῶσον! conf. Anthol. Gr. ii. 13, 11. 'Cur *sternumentis* salutamus? quod etiam Tiberium Caesarem, tristissimum (ut constat) hominum, in vehiculo exegisse tradunt,' Plin. 28, 2. 'Giton ter continuo ita sternutavit, ut grabatum concuteret, ad quem motum Eumolpus salvere Gitona jubet,' Petron. sat. 98.[1] The Arabs too salute at sneezing (Rückert's Hariri 1, 543). In our Mid. Age poets I find: 'die Heiden nicht endorften *niesen*, dâ man doch sprichet, Nu *helfiu Got!*' durst not sneeze, though etc. Turl. Wh. 35. '*Christ iu helfe!* sô sie *niesen*,' Ms. 2, 169ᵇ. 'durch daz solte ein schilt gesellen kiesen, daz im ein ander *heiles wunschte*, ob dirre schilt kunde *niesen*,' Tit. 80. 'sô *wünsch* ich dir ein *niesen*,' Ms. 2, 217ᵇ. 'wir sprechen, swer *niuset*, Got helfe dir!' Renn. 15190. 'Deus te adjuvet' (A.D. 1307), Pistor. script. 1, 1024; conf. Königshoven p. 302. Enchanted sprites *sneeze* under a bridge, that some one may call out *God help!* and undo the spell, DS. no. 224-5-6. Mone's Anz. 4, 308. 'dir hât diu katze niht *genorn*,' Helbl. 1, 1393. To the Greeks there seemed something divine in sneezing: τὸν πταρμὸν θεὸν ἡγούμεθα, Arist. probl. 33, 7; conf. 11, 33. Xen. Anab. iii. 2, 9. Theocr. 7, 96. 18, 16. Words confirmed by sneezing come true, Od. 17,

[1] 'Sternutantibus salvere dictum antiquior mos quam putatur,' Valesius in Valesiana p. 68. 'Pourquoi on fait des souhaits en faveur de ceux qui éternuent,' Morin in Mém. de l'acad. des inscr. 4, 325. J. Gerh. Meuschen de antiquo et moderno ritu salutandi sternutantes, Kilon. 1704. Gesch. der formel 'Gott helf dir!' beim niesen, publ. by Wieland, Lindau 1787.

541-5. '*sternutationes* nolite observare,' Sup. A. Whoever sneezes during a narrative is bound to prove its truth. In the Christmas nights do not sneeze, and the cattle will not die. The passage in Hartlieb, Sup. H, c. 73, is curious; conf. Sup. I, 186. 266. 437 and M (Esthon.) 23 (see Suppl.).

Ringing in the ears, garrula auris, *βόμβος*, is lucky when in the right ear. 'Absentes *tinnitu aurium* praesentire sermones de se receptum est,' Plin. 28, 2, conf. Sup. I, 82. 802; *booming* in the ear, F, 27.——*Quivering of the eye*: *ἄλλεταί ὀφθαλμός μοι ὁ δεξιός*, Theocr. 3, 37. *Itching of brows* and *cheeks*, Sup. I, 141. D, 38 r. 140 v. 'si vibrata salitione insuetum alter oculorum, *dexter* vel *sinister* palpitaret, si concuterentur ac veluti exsilirent aut trepidarent musculi, humeri aut femora etc., mali erant ominis,' Dempster's Antiq. Rom. 3, 9; conf. Suidas sub v. *οἰωνιστική*. The Indians thought *twitching of the right eye* a bad omen (Hirzel's Sakuntala p. 65). Itching in the *right* eye has a good meaning, in the *left* a bad, says Tobler 30.——*Bleeding of the nose*: unlucky if on the left side, Sup. I, 825. If in going out you *catch against the door*, or *stumble on the threshold*, you are warned to turn back (248. 895). If your *right hand itches*, you will part with money, if your left, you will take money. *Itching of the right eye* betokens crying, of the left, laughing. If your *soles itch*, you are going to dance, if your *nose*, to hear news. Whoever gets a *yellow finger* has lost a relation (see Suppl.).

The many ways of finding out one's *lover* or *suitor* that is to be are, so far as I see, unconnected with Roman or Greek superstition. The girl hearkens to the cackling of the *cock* (Sup. I, 101), or she *throws* her *wreath of flowers* (848. 1093; conf. 867), or some particular night in the year she pulls a *billet of wood out of the stack* or a *stick out of the hedge* (I, 109. 958; F, 7. 49), walking to it *back foremost*; or on a dark night she clutches at the flock in hopes of pulling out a *ram* (I, 952). Walking *backwards* or standing *naked* is a usual requisite in this, as in other cases (I, 506-7. 928; G, 1. 207). Another way is, being *naked*, to *throw* one's *shift* out through the door (I, 955), or to grasp *backwards* through the door at the lover's hair (I, 102), or to *spread the table for him* (as for norns), and then he is bound to appear and eat his supper off it. Harrys in Volkss. 2, 28 describes the so-called *nappel-pfang*: in a vessel full of clean water

you set afloat little *pots* of thin silver plate marked with the names of those whose fate is in question; if a young man's pot comes up to a girl's, it will be a match. The same is done in some parts with simple *nutshells*.[1]

Like the discovery of one's future husband, it was an important matter to ascertain the *sex of a child* before it was born. This could be gathered from the persons one met in going to church, Sup. I, 483, from previous children (677. 747), from sneezing (M, 23). That a woman would have none but daughters, was to be learnt by other signs (I, 678. M, 22). An O. Fr. poem in Méon 3, 34 has the following:

voire est que je sui de vous grosse,
si m'enseigna l'on à *aler*
entor le mostier sans parler
trois tors, dire trois patenostres
en l'onor Dieu et ses apostres,
une fosse au talon féisse,
et par trois jors i revenisse:
s'au tiers jorz *overt le trovoie*,
c'etoit un fils qu'avoir devoie,
et s'il etoit clos, c'etoit fille.

Throwing shoes over one's head, and seeing which way the points look, reveals the place where one is destined to stay longest, Sup. I, 101; G, l. 220. The Sermones disc. de tempore mention, among superstitious Christmas customs, that of *calceos super caput jactare*, Sermo xi.

They also speak of some 'qui *cumulos salis ponunt*, et per hoc futura pronosticant.' Sup. I, 1081: 'on' Christmas eve put a little *heap of salt* on the table; if it melts overnight, you die next year; if not, not.' Again, in a house where one lies dead, they make *three heaps of salt* (I, 846). This has to do with the sacred nature of *salt* (pp. 1046. 1076). Apparently of Greek origin is the widely received custom of *pouring out lead* (I, 97; H, cap. 96); even Ihre (de superst. p. 55) mentions it, conf.

[1] Divining by *filberts* was another thing: 'infra manus meas camellam vini posuit, et cum digitos pariter extensos porris apioque lustrasset, *avellanas nuces* cum precatione mersit in vinum; et sive in summum redierant, sive subsederant, ex hac conjectura dicebat,' Petron. 137.

'*molybdomantia* ex plumbi liquefacti diversis motibus,' Potter's Arch. 1, 339 (see Suppl.).

But no species of superstition had more deeply penetrated the entire Mid. Ages than the presages known under the names of *aneganc* (an-gang, coming upon), *widerganc*, *widerlouf*. A beast, a man, a thing, that you unexpectedly encountered on stepping out of doors or setting out on a journey at early morn, while yet the day is fresh, betokened weal or woe, and admonished you to go on with what you had begun, or to give it up. When Saxo Gram. p. 84 says '*congressionum* initia,' what was the Norse word he had in his mind? perhaps viðr-gângr, or still better môt (meeting)? As the beginning of any business is critical (omina principiis inesse solent, Ov. Fasti 1, 178), as the first stepping into a new house, on to a new bridge, is cautiously set about (p. 1021), and the god or daemon claims the first he meets (see below); so men took note of every sign that attended a purposed ride or journey. The M. Latin term for it is *superventa* (sc. res), what surprises, supervenit (Fr. survient)[1]; or even, taking it literally, what floats above us in the air, though that indeed would only apply to the flight of birds. Hincmar de divortio Lotharii (supra, p. 1099) says: 'ad haec . . . pertinent, quas *superventas* feminae in suis lanificiis vel textilibus operibus nominant.' These the Greeks called *ἐνόδια σύμβολα*, and we have most of them in common with them, with the Romans, nay with Oriental nations. In view of the almost universal diffusion of these 'angänge,' it is hardly credible that they first came to the Germans in the wake of Latin literature: they rest on the older kinship of all European nations, and the very earliest observer of our kindred, Tacitus, remarked this mode of divination among them: '*auspicia* sortesque, ut qui maxime, observant . . . et illud quidem etiam hic notum, *avium voces volatusque* interrogare.' And of horses, p. 658. Many of our old myths lay a stress on the primitiae: we need only mention Wodan's promising the victory to those whom he should first set eyes upon at sunrise, p. 134 (see Suppl.).

I will first take passages that group several things together, and then elucidate particulars.

[1] ['And *overcome* us like a summer's cloud.'—Macbeth.]

To begin with Xenophon's Memorab. i. 1, 4: *ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν πλεῖστοι φασὶν ὑπό τε τῶν ὀρνίθων καὶ τῶν ἀπαντώντων ἀποτρέπεσθαί τε καὶ προτρέπεσθαι.* And, i. 1, 14: *τοὺς δὲ καὶ λίθους καὶ ξύλα καὶ τὰ τυχόντα θηρία σέβεσθαι*, i.e. 'obvia animalia,' not, as some have taken it, 'vulgaria, ubivis obvia.'

The earliest evidence from our own Mid. Ages, but one that speaks very generally, is found in St. Eligius, Sup. A: 'nullus observet egrediens aut ingrediens domum, quid sibi *occurrat*, vel si aliqua vox reclamantis fiat, aut qualis *avis cantus* garriat, vel quid etiam *portantem* videat.' Greg. Turon. 7, 29: 'et cum *iter ageret*, ut consuetudo est barbarorum, *auspicia intendere* coepit, ac dicere sibi esse contraria.' We find more detail in John of Salisbury's Polycraticus sive de nugis curial. 1, 13, which however I do not quote in full: 'Si *egrediens* limen calcaveris aut in via offenderis, pedem contine . . . Cum processeris, abscondita futurorum *aves* quas *ominales* vocant tibi praenunciabunt. Quid *cornix* loquatur diligenter ausculta, situmque ejus sedentis aut volantis nullo modo contemnas. Refert etenim plurimum, a dextris sit an a sinistris, qua positione respiciat cubitum gradientis, loquax sit an clamosa, an silens omnino, praecedat an sequatur, transeuntis expectet adventum, an fugiat, quove discedat. *Corvus* vero, quem non minori diligentia observabis, rebus majoribus auspicatur, et usquequaque cornici praejudicat. Porro *cygnus* in auguriis ales gratissima nautis, utpote quae aquarum domestica quadam gratia familiaritatis eorundem secreta praenoverit. Si avis quae vulgo dicitur *albanellus* (see below) praetervolans viam a sinistris feratur ad dextram, de hospitii hilaritate ne dubites, si contra, contrarium expectabis. *Leporis* timebis occursum, *lupo* obvio congratulaberis; *ovibus* gratanter obviam gradieris, dum *capram* vites. *Bobus triturantibus*, libentius tamen *arantibus* obviabis; nec displiceat si viam ruperint, quia mora itineris hospitii gratia compensabitur. *Mulus* infaustus est, *asinus* inutilis, *equus* quandoque bonus est; habet vero jurgiorum et pugnae significationem, interdum tamen ex colore et visu mitigatur. *Locusta* itinerantium praepedit vota, econtra *cicada* viatoris promovet gressum. *Aranea* dum a superioribus filum ducit, spem venturae pecuniae videtur afferre. *Sacerdotem* obvium aliumve *religiosum* dicunt esse infaustum; *feminam* quoque, quae *capite discooperto* incedit, infelicem crede, nisi *publica* sit.'——

Petrus Blesensis (d. about 1200) epist. 65: 'Somnia igitur ne cures, nec te illorum errore involvas, qui occursum *leporis* timent, qui *mulierem sparsis crinibus*, qui *hominem orbatum oculis*, aut *mutilatum pede*, aut *cuculatum* habere obvium detestantur; qui de jucundo gloriantur hospitio, si eis *lupus* occursaverit aut *columba*, si a sinistra in dexteram *avis S. Martini* volaverit, si in egressu suo *remotum* audiant *tonitrum*, si hominem *gibbosum* obvium habuerint aut *leprosum*.'[1]——Hartmann makes his dauntless Erek defy the danger:

8122. Keins swachen glouben er phlac (cherished).
er wolt der wîbe *liezen* (lot-casting)
engelten noch geniezen (pay for, nor partake).
swaz im *getroumen* (dream) mahte
dar ûf het er kein ahte (took no heed);
er was kein *weter-sorgære* (no weather-watcher):
er sach im als mære
des morgens über den wec varn
die *iuweln* (owls) sam den *mûsarn*
ouch hiez er selten machen
dehein *fiur ûz der spachen*
daz man in dar an sæhe,
er phlac deheiner spæhe.
ez was umbe in sô gewant,
im was der *tisch in der hant*
als mære enge sô wît,
und swaz ungelouben gît (gibt, gives)
dâne kêrte er sich nicht an.

This is imitated by Wirnt, whose Wigalois also goes forth:

6182. dehein ungeloube in muote (no superstition in mind)
in dem hûse noch ûf dem wege,
er lie (liez, left) ez allez an Gotes pflege (care).
Swaz im des morgens *wider lief* (ran against),
oder swie vil diu *krâ gerief* (how the crow cried),
swie vil der *mûsære umbe geflouc* (how the m. flew round),
der ungeloube in niht betrouc (deluded):

[1] Conf. Chrysostom (b. 354 d. 407) ad popul. Antioch. homil. 21 (Opp. Etonae 1612. 6, 610): Πολλάκις ἐξελθών τις τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ εἶδεν ἄνθρωπον ἑτερόφθαλμον ἢ χωλεύοντα, καὶ ὠλιγώρησε . . . ἐὰν ἀπαντήσῃ παρθένος, φησὶν, ἄπρακτος ἡ ἡμέρα γέγονεται. ἐὰν δὲ ἀπαντήσῃ πόρνη, δεξιὰ καὶ χρηστὴ καὶ πολλῆς ἐμπορίας γέμουσα.

wand' er (for he) niht dar ûf ahte (heeded).
Wir haben maneger slahte (many a sort)
bôsheit unde gelouben (sin and superstition),
dâ mit wir uns nû rouben (whereby we rob us)
allêr unser sælecheit (bliss).
ez ist vil manegem manne leit (loth, painful)
swenne im ein *wîp daz swert gît* (gives);
daz lie der riter âne nît (W. took no offence),
ern' ahtet niht dar ûf ein hâr,
ez wære gelogen (false) oder wâr:
er het in Gotes gnâde gegeben
beidiu sêle unde leben.
swaz im *des morgens wider gie* (ging; met him),
daz engeflôch (shunned) der riter nie,
wan (for) guoten gelouben het er ie (ever).

Berthold p. 58: 'So gloubent etelîche an *bœsen aneganc* (evil meeting): daz ein *wolf guoten aneganc* habe, der aller der werlte schaden tuot, und ist halt sô unreine daz er die liute an stinket (infects), daz nieman bî im genesen mac; und daz ein *gewîhter priester bœsen aneganc* habe, an dem aller gloube lît (faith lies) . . . Sô gloubent etelîche an den *miusearn;* sô ist dem der *hase* (hare) über'n weg geloufen. Als ist ir unglouben als (so) vil, daz sîn nieman ze ende komen mac.' Conf. Sup. I, 128. The word 'aneganc' is supported by Rudolf's Weltchron. (Cod. Zeisb. 114), in speaking of Moses:

er verbôt allen *aneganc,*
vogel-vluc, stimme oder sanc,
daz dâ geloupte nieman an;

and Walth. 118, 16 says of a wretched man: 'wizzet, swem der *anegenget* an dem morgen fruo, deme gêt ungelücke zuo,' whom he on-gangeth at early morn, on him shall come misfortune. The Nethl. Reinaert 1055 expresses the notion by '*tekîn* ende *ghemoet,*' token and meeting;[1] Reineke, ed. Hakemann p. 52, by *gemöte,* and people still say 'to möte komen.'——The ON. *heill* (omen) is a more general expression; but one lay of the Edda (Sæm. 184[b]) mentions three signs favourable to the warrior at

[1] Rein. 1107: sulc mochte ons daer *ghemoeten,*
hi soude ons *quedden* ende *groeten,*
die ons nemmermê dade goet.

the swinging of swords (at sverða svipon): the first is, if the dark *raven follow* him (fylgja ens deyqva hrafns),[1] which calls to mind the *raven* in the flag of fortune (p. 1112); the other two are clearly 'angänge,' for it says: 'ef þû ert *ût umkominn*, ok ert *â braut bûinn*,' if thou hast gone out and art on thy road; then the second sign is: '*tvâ* þû lîtr â tâi standa *hrôðrfûsa hali*,' thou seest two fame-thirsty men (warriors) stand on the start;[2] and the third sign: 'ef þû *þiota heyrir úlf* und ask-limom, heilla auðit verðr ef þû ser þâ *fyrri fara*,' if thou hear a wolf howl under ash-boughs, good hap is destined thee if then[3] thou see him run forwards. It is Hnikarr (Oðinn) that puts Sigurð up to these omens. But against the three signs of luck are set two of misfortune: one is, if the hero have to fight toward set of sun (sîð-skînanði systor mâna); another, if in going forth to battle he *trip with the foot* (ef þû fœti drepr).——Then in the Gesellensprüche I see notable instances of angang in the *frogs* of the pool, the *ravens*, the *three old women*, the *maiden with the goat* (A. w. 1, 91. 107. 111). Again, Ihre de superst. p. 82: 'Ejusdem indolis est, quod tradunt nostrates de occursu hominum et animalium, e.g. si cui domo sua mane egredienti occurrat *mendicus, vetula, claudus*, aut *felis, canis, vulpes, lepus, sciurus*, is dies inauspicatus habetur. Observant haec prae aliis sagittarii et piscatores, qui ejusmodi ominibus oblatis haud raro domum revertuntur et a proposito abstinent.' Lasicz 48: 'Quin ipse quoque rex Wladislaus, gente Lituanus, has a matre sua superstitiones didicerat, ut eum diem infaustum sibi futurum crederet, quo primum *calceum sinistrum* fortuito accepisset. Ad hoc movebat se interdum in gyrum stans pede uno, foras e cubili proditurus. Quorum similia multa observantur a Samagitis; quidam infeliciter se venaturos sibi persuadent si domo egressis *mulier occurrat*, seu quis certum numerum capiendorum leporum, vulpium, luporum nominet.' Lucas David's Chron. i. 146-7 says of the ancient

[1] In Nialss. cap. 8 two avengers of blood have luck, because *two ravens accompany* them all the way (hrafnar tveir flugo með þeim alla leið): do they attend as Oðin's messengers? or because they scent the coming carcase? Other passages are: '*hrafn* at meiði hâtt kallaði,' Sæm. 208ᵇ; '*hrafn* fljúgr *austan* at hâmeiði, ok eptir honum örn í sinni,' Fornald. sög. 1, 428.

[2] What is the exact meaning of '*â tâi* standa, sitja (Sæm. 266ᵇ), spretta (269ᵃ)'? tâi can hardly be Dat. sing. or Acc. pl. of the fem. tâ (toe); it seems rather to be a case of a masc. noun, and to contain a notion of place.

[3] I take þâ as = tum, eo momento.

Prussians, that they regarded an encounter with a *sick* man as bad, with a *mounted* man as good, with a *fox* or *hare* as bad (see Suppl.).

It is hard to get at the meaning of all these divers prognostics.

First, of *human angang*. Ill-luck is supposed to follow that of an *old woman*, of a *woman with dishevelled hair*, or what comes to the same thing, *loosened headband* (découverte, discooperta, It. scoperta). If an *old wife* meet you in the morning, if you have to pass between two *old wives*, your day is unlucky, Sup. I, 58. 380. 791. 976. When a huntsman in the morning comes upon an *old woman*, he lies down and makes her step over him, to ward off mischief (Hessian pop. cust.). In Switzerland to meet a *woman* is unlucky, at least on New-year's day (Tobler 447[b]). Swedish superst. K, 53 holds all meeting with *woman-folk* bad, unless it be a *lön-hora*, as the παρθένος in Chrysostom betokened an unlucky day, and the πόρνη a lucky. So in Sup. I, 177: the *virgin* or *priest* is an evil sign, the *prostitute* a good.[1] But Ihre speaks expressly of a *vetula*, so does Arndt's Journey to Sweden 1, 44, and a Finnish song (Schröter's Runen p. 67): 'go forth by early morn, lest *ancient crone with crooked chin* do *squint* at thee.' This last hint plainly sets before us the notion of a *witch*, still more does the loose flying hair (p. 1089) that of a *night-wife* (Sup. I, 878), *fortune-teller*, heathen *priestess*, conf. the Cimbrian πολιόθριξ p. 55. Veldek 21[b] paints his Sibylla as *andfas* (horrida crinibus), 'daz mies lockehte hienc ir ûz den ôren' (non comptae mansere comae 6, 48). And this view is confirmed by the approach of a *woman spinning* being hurtful (Sup. I, 135), for a witch is a *field-spinster*, i.e. a norn, a fate (p. 1088). So early as Pliny 28, 5: 'pagana lege in plerisque Italiae praediis cavetur ne *mulieres per itinera ambulantes torqueant fusos*, aut omnino *detectos ferant*, quoniam adversetur id omnium spei, praecipueque frugum.' This again looks remarkably like the scrutinies held by our goddesses as to whether spindles were spun full or not, pp. 269. 274.

And it becomes to my mind doubly clear by the clergyman

[1] Not true of Theodora at any rate, a bird who boded ill to the Byzantines: ἦν γὰρ τοῖς ὁρῶσιν ἄλλως τε καὶ ἀρχομένης ἡμέρας βλάσφημος οἰωνός, Procop. Hist. arc. 9 (ed. Bonn, p. 63).

being put in the like case: a *consecrated priest*, says Berthold, is accounted of ill omen to such as meet him. I can produce another pretty old proof from Hincmar 1, 656: 'sunt etiam qui dicant, quando in venationem pergunt, quod obviam sibi non debeant habere *clericum*;' and more modern ones from Reginald Scott's Witchcraft (Lond. 1665 fol.) p. 114: 'if any hunters, as they were a hunting, chanced to meet a *frier* or a *priest*, they thought it so ill luck, as they would couple up their hounds and go hom, being in dispair of any further sport that day;' and from Pauli's Schimpf und Ernst (1555) cap. 358: 'there went an old dame to church betimes o' the day, and a *parson* meeting her, did cross herself some six times privily. Wherefore sign you yourself so at sight of me? quoth the priest; I hope I be not the devil. The woman answered, It hath never failed, an I came upon a *parson* betimes of a morning, but some untoward thing befell me the same day.'

When a company of people suddenly fall silent, they say 'there's a *priest* passing,' Nethl. 'er gaat een *predikant* voorby'; every one feels confounded at the omen. And in a better sense also it is said 'an *angel* flew across the room,' 'Ερμῆς ἐπεισῆλθε. In Switzerland they say, there is bad weather when a *clergyman* walks out (Tobler 436ᵇ).

The sudden appearance of a holy man interrupts and breaks up worldly business. Those who met him were bound to shew respect; paganism may have prescribed in such a case the immediate performance of a certain formality. Christians would transfer the omen from the pagan to the christian priest; that of the heathen priestess or wise woman must have passed over to night-wives and witches, as the clerus admitted no women into its ranks.

Why should the meeting of a *blind* (or one-eyed) man, a *lame* man, a *beggar* be considered bad, and that of a *hunchback* or *leper* good? why that of a *walker* be interpreted less favourably than that of a *rider* (Sup. K, 129 Dan.), and that of a *water-bearer* also unfavourably (I, 257)? The blind man, the cloaked [rider] suggest Wuotan. It seems more intelligible why a man did not care to have his *sword handed him by a woman*, and why in the Edda the sight of *two warriors* is a pledge of victory.

To lovers the sight of the loved one must have been the

welcomest of signs: 'swer si *des morgens* angesiht, den tac im niemer leit geschiht,' who upon her at morn doth look, that day no manner harm shall brook, Ms. 2, 23^{b} (see Suppl.).

Animal encounters have their origin in pastoral and hunting life, they are based on contemplation of nature and on fabulous opinions about the habits of beasts. Under this head there must be a vast deal in Slavic, Esthonian, Finnic and Lithuanian tradition waiting to be collected, which at present I must do without. Even Norse tradition seems not to have been accurately noted down in this respect. Saxo Gram. p. 321 says of Slavs, not of Northmen: 'ad varia quoque negotia profecturi ex *primo animalis occursu* votorum auspicia capiebant; quae si *laeta* fuissent, coeptum alacres iter carpebant, sin *tristia*, reflexo cursu propria repetebant.' The animals in question he omits to name. Important above all is that omen in the Edda of the *wolf howling and going onwards*, whom we may fairly take for the victory-boding beast of Oðinn (p. 668). All other evidence agrees with it, even the superstitions of to-day. Everywhere the brave undaunted *wolf*, the sight of whom awakens heart and hope, is set off against the timid cowardly *hare*, the type of faint heart and failure. Sigeb. gembl. ad an. 1143: 'obiit etiam Fulco rex Hierosolymorum; qui dum venationi insistens *leporem* insequitur *ex improviso* sibi *apparentem*, equus cui insidebat se super ipsum praecipitem dedit, ipsumque vita et regno privavit;' conf. Vintler, Sup. G, ll. 52—55. Again: 'on the way there chanced a *hare* to run across their road; the driver was troubled, and spake, This betokeneth no good. If contrariwise a *wolf* had crossed the road, it were a good sign,' Ettner's Unw. doctor 575-6; conf. Simplic. 2, 74. In Pauli's Schimpf u. E. cap. 138 (ed. 1550 cap. 135): 'in the morning they set forth, and being come wellnigh unto the wood, Master, quoth the man, there ran a *wolf* before us. The master said he had seen him well enough, it meant sheer luck.' In Albertini's Narrenhatz, Munich 1617. p. 96: 'superstitious numskulls are affrighted if a *hare cross the path* whereon they shall walk or ride, supposing that they shall on that day abide a misadventure.' Göz von Berlichingen in his Life p. 179: 'and as we came on, behold, a shepherd feeding his flock hard by, and for a *token*, there *fell five wolves upon the sheep*,

that laid hold of them roundly, the which I gladly heard and saw, and wished them luck, and us too, and said to them, Good luck to you, good fellows, good luck everywhere, and I deemed it luck, for even so should we lay hold one of another.'[1] Here we have no angang proper described, but we can see the meaning that warlike nations at first put into it. *Wolf, stag, boar* and *bear* all stand exactly on a par in respect of their meaning, Sup. I, 128. The Norwegian thinks it a bad sign to meet a *hare*, a good one to meet a *bear* or a *wolf* (Danske's Reiseiagtagelser 1799. 2, 297): here the *bear*, whom the lay of the Raven's wedding calls the 'ypperste karl i skoven,' is justly placed before the wolf.[2] Roman accounts take no notice of the bear, but they do of the wolf; Pliny 8, 22 (34): 'inter auguria ad dexteram commeantium praeciso itinere, *si pleno id ore lupus fecerit*, nullum omnium praestantius.' Pliny also tells us the effect of a footprint of the wolf, if a horse treads on it: 'tanta vis est animalis, ut vestigia ejus calcata equis afferant torporem' 28, 10 (44); and 'rumpi equos, qui vestigia luporum sub equite sequantur' 28, 20 (81). Both John of Salisbury and Peter of Blois have '*occursum leporis* timere.' In addition to Berthold and Hartlieb (Sup. H, cap. 67), the Cod. pal. 341. 163[a] has a passage in point. Feldbauer 240:

Dar zuo sâh wir einen *hasen* (hare),
der *widerfuor uns* (met us) *an dem weg;*
dô dâht ich deiz niht eben læg:
er tet uns den *êrsten aneganc*,
wan daz er snelle für mich spranc.

To Greeks and Romans apparently it could under favourable circumstances be a good omen (*αἴσιος*).[3] The *weasel* (*γαλῆ*) had a bad name among them: when it ran across the road, a public assembly was postponed (Potter 1, 746). Theophrastus in

[1] Goethe recognised the poetic effect of these words, and incorporated them in his play.

[2] To Turkish travellers too the *wolf* is a grateful, the *hare* an unwelcome sign; Vienna Lit. zeitung 1816. p. 1257.

[3] Dio Cass. 62, 2 (Reim. 1006-7): *ταῦτα εἰπούσα, λαγὼν μὲν ἐκ τοῦ κόλπου προήκατο (ἡ Βουνδουΐκα, a Britoness) μαντείᾳ τινὶ χρωμένη, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐν αἰσίῳ ἔδραμε, τό τε πλῆθος πᾶν ἡσθὲν ἀνεβόησε.* Otherwise in Suidas: *φανεὶς ὁ λαγὼς δυστυχεῖς ποιεῖ τρίβους.* When the Germans under king Arnulf *started a hare* and chased it, they took Rome (Liutpr. 1, 8), but hare-hunting Danes were put to flight (Neocorus 1, 353; here Detmar puts a *cat*, 1, 164). To be licked by the hare was considered lucky: 'he weened a *hare* had licked him,' Trödelfrau 1682. p. 71.

Charact. 16 says, if a *weasel* run past you, you must not go on till some one else has paced the road, or you have picked up three stones from it. So Centonovelle cap. 31: 'quando l'uomo trova la *donnola*[1] *nella via.*' The *fox's* angang is interpreted variously: as bad in that passage from Ihre, as good by Lithuanian Superst. N, 9. Domestic animals, such as the traveller keeps on his own premises, and does not meet for the first time in the woods, are hardly available as omens: they are too common, too tame and dependent on man, to become significant to him. Yet they say, if on setting out early you meet *swine*, you will not be welcome where your steps are taking you; if *sheep*, you will. According to some, the wayfarer is a welcome guest if the *sheep* present themselves on his *right hand*, and unwelcome if on his *left*. The Etruscans, when a new magistrate rode into his province, observed what *horses* and *oxen* he fell in with (O. Müller 2, 118). Compare the prophesying by *horses* (p. 662-4), where it is true there is no chance meeting of the beast, yet stress is laid on his planting of the *right* foot or the *left*. An instance in Procop. de b. Pers. 2, 5 p. 172 ought to be added.

The observation of *birds* was even more minutely carried out than the encounter of quadrupeds, their free unhindered motion through the air being of itself enough to invest them with something marvellous and spirit-like. The Greeks had a comprehensive *οἰωνιστική* (Suidas sub v.), the Romans reduced *auspicia* and *auguria* to a system.[2] Boh. *ptako-prawiti* augurari, ptako-weštec augur, Pol. ptaszo-wieszczek. And heathens of the Teuton race equally regarded birds as messengers of the gods and heralds of important tidings (pp. 672, 763). 'What *bird* has brought that to your ears?' means: who made you believe that, put it into your head?[3] 'A *bird* sang that to me: jag hörde en *fogel* så sjunga, en *fogel* var här, och sade för mig det eller det,' said so and so, Ihre de superst. p. 51. Mod. Greek and Servian folksongs not unfrequently open with *birds* on the wing wheeling this way and

[1] Our *fräulein*, Bav. *müemeleis*, auntie, Schm. 2, 576, *schönthierle*, pretty beastie 3, 369; Span. *comadreja* (Reinh. cexxiv), Dan. *den kjönne*, pulcra: all these names attest the sacredness of the animal. The Servians call her lasitsa, but address her by the caressing form laza: 'lazo lazitchitse!'

[2] Jul. Caes. Bulenger de auguriis (Graevii thes. 5).

[3] Westphal. 'wecker vaugel heft dik dat inner auren ehangen?' Slennerhinke p. 8.

that, holding a conversation, Wh. Müller's Saml. 1, 66. 102. 2, 164. 178. 200. Vuk 3, 326. Two *black ravens* (dva vrana gavrana) caw from the white tower, Vuk. 2, 151. The prophetic call of the *cuckoo* has been dealt with, p. 675 seq.; he too belongs to angang, his voice in the wood falls unexpected on the traveller's ear, a good sign if on the right hand, a bad if on the left. Pliny 30, 10 (25): 'aliud est *cuculo* miraculum, quo quis loco *primo audiat* alitem illam, si dexter pes circumscribatur ac vestigium id effodiatur, non gigni pulices, ubicunque spargatur;' conf. p. 1093 on cutting out footmarks. The Indic. superst. xiii. touches on *auguria avium*. Eligius, Sup. A: 'nec in itinere positi aliquas *aviculas cantantes* attendatis.' Birds whose encounter is prophetic are called *wegvögel*, way-fowl, Sup. I, 600, but by far the best qualified for the purpose were the *krimmende raubvögel* (rapaces aves) that won victories over other birds, and could predict the same happy event to heroes;[1] accordingly birds of prey play the foremost part in dreams. An anecdote in Procop. de b. Goth. 4, 20 (ed. Bonn. 2, 560-1) shews how early this superstition was domiciled among German nations: Hermigiscl king of the Warni, riding over field, noticed a bird (of what kind, is not said) on a tree, and heard him caw (so prob. a *raven* or *crow*). Understanding the song of birds, the king informed his followers that his death in forty days was foretold.[2] It is *igðor* up in the trees that prophesy to Sigurðr (p. 672); it is not settled whether they were swallows, or perhaps she-eagles? Dagr has a *sparrow* of understanding, Ingl. saga cap. 21. Several passages in the O. Span. Cid prove the observation of birds: 867 al *exir* de Salon mucho ovo *buenas aves;* 2376 con Dios e con *la vuestra auce;* 2379 con *la buen auce* (see Suppl.).

And as it was a principal point with the ancients whether the flight was from *right* or *left*, Hartlib also (Sup. H, cap. 67) pronounces flying *on the right hand* lucky, on the *left* unlucky. He says the *eagle* must *fly pouch-side* of the traveller, i.e. on the side where his travelling-pouch hangs. Nowhere else do I find the

[1] Frid. Guil. Schwarz de antiquiss. Apollinis natura, Berol. 1843, p. 16.

[2] Οὗτος ἀνὴρ (Ἑρμεγίσκλος) ξὺν Οὐάρνων τοῖς λογιμωτάτοις ἐν χωρίῳ τῷ ἱπτευόμενος ὄρνιν τινὰ ἐπὶ δένδρου τε καθημένην εἶδε καὶ πολλὰ κρώζουσαν. εἴτε δὲ τῆς ὄρνιθος τῆς φωνῆς ξυνεὶς εἴτε ἄλλο μέν τι ἐξεπιστάμενος, ξυνεῖναι δὲ τῆς ὄρνιθος μαντευομένης τερατευσάμενος, τοῖς παροῦσιν εὐθὺς ἔφασκεν ὡς τεθνήξεται τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέραις ὕστερον...τῇ τεσσαρακοστῇ ἀπὸ τῆς προρρήσεως ἡμέρᾳ νοσήσας πεπρωμένην ἀνέπλησε.

'ar' mentioned, but often the *mûsar*, in Hartman, Wirnt, Berthold; which Benecke's Dict. to the first-named makes a small bird of prey, the same that Burchard (Sup. C, p. 198^c) calls *muriceps* and explains as mouser. The poem of the Uebel wîp says 297—301:

> Swenne ich nâch gewinne var,
> sô ist durft daz mir der *mûsar*
> *über die strâze vliege*
> und mich des niht entriege,
> ob ich ir niht enbringe;

i.e. when I bring her nothing home, I have to make that my excuse. This bird's flying *over the road* is a favourable sign. In the Iliad 10, 274 a *heron* (*ἐρωδιός*) *flying on the right* brings luck. The *raven*, a bird of victory to the heathen, is spoken of in the Norse quotations p. 1123 as 'accompanying,' but nowhere else in connexion with angang; of the *crow* we hear plenty. It was lucky 'si *cornicula ex sinistra in dexteram* cantaverit,' Sup. C, p. 198^c; the same in Petr. Bles., except *volaverit* for cantaverit; Kolocz. 146 says of children brought up in luxury, who never felt the heavy hand of fate: 'si enwizzen *wannen die krân sint gevlogen*,' they never knew whence the crows flew. Walth. 94, 39: 'ein *unsæligiu* (unblest) *krâ* begonde schrîen.' MS. 2, 80: 'ez hab ein *swerziu krâ* gelogen,' told lies. On the other hand: 'alba solet *cornix* affectum scire tacentis,' Reinard. 2, 657. With the crow some would identify the *Martin's bird*, whose flight is so fraught with meaning in Peter of Blois and in Renart 10472, Reinaert 1047, Reineke 942. 'Sant *Martins vogel*, wol über her! daz ist nû gar der niuwe hant,' Liederb. der Hätzlerin 241^b; i.e. such careless calling upon St. Martin's bird is all the fashion now (conf. 'diu niuwe hant, alte hant,' Renner 2087—2111). A similar invocation in Reinaert: 'al heil, edel voghel, kêre herwaert dînen vloghel!' But Nemnich would make the falco cyaneus, a small bird of prey, the *Martin's bird*, Nethl. Martens vogel, Fr. l'oiseau S. Martin, Span. pajaro S. Martin; and this would fit in with John of Salisb.'s *albanellus* (Fr. haubereau), which expressly points to good hospitium, like Martin's bird in Reinhart [and Petr. Bles.]. I find no clue in the ordinary legends of the saint, to whom the bird must have

brought something.[1] Again, in Vintler (Sup. G, l. 158) *sant Martis-vogel* betokens luck; this spelling would almost lead to the supposition that Martinsvogel was a corruption of '*Martis* avis,' which would be the woodpecker, the *Märzafülli* (p. 673). In Ls. 3, 543 we read: '*sant Martins vögalin* diu machent mangen umbecreiz;' while another passage (which even Reinh. cxxvii borrows) in a Pal. MS. (Altswert 77, 19) has again '*Mertins* vogelin,' and we are told it points the way to the Venus mount, which adds to its mythical character. Our nursery rhymes give *sunte Martens vögelken* a red coat or golden wing, but they are sung on Martinmas-eve, and bring us back to the saint. So I can come to no certain conclusion about this bird. Coming back to the *crow*, we have yet more credentials, old and new. Virg. Ecl. 9, 15: 'ante *sinistra* cava monuisset ab ilice *cornix*.' Poema del Cid 11. 12: 'ovieron la *corneia diestra*,' and '*siniestra*.' Renart 10473, speaking of the oiseau S. Martin: 'assez si le hucha à *destre*, et li oisiax vint à *senestre*.' The ancients do not leave out the raven, as Plaut. Aul. iv. 3, 1: 'non temere est, quod *corvus cantat* mihi nunc *ab laeva manu*, semel radebat pedibus terram, et voce *crocibat* sua.' Olaf Tryggvason, though a christian, noticed whether the *krâkâ* (crow) *stood on her right* or *left leg*, believing it to bode good or evil to him; whence his enemies nicknamed him *krâkubein*. The ON. *hûngr-krâka* foretold famine, and *illviðris-krâka* ill weather. Cento nov. ant. 32: 'segnor, je vit una *cornacchia* in uno cieppo di salice.' 'Or mi di, donna, *verso qual parte teneva volta la coda?*' 'Segnor, ella avea volta verso il cul.'[2] Conf. the charadrius or galadrot p. 853n.

The *woodpecker* too was a sacred bird, p.673-5; in Lindenblatt's Chron. p. 31: 'ir *speht* hatte *nicht recht* geflogen,' i.e. not from the right hand. To the Romans the screeching *parra* (greenpecker? peewit?) boded mischief: 'impios parrae recinentis omen ducat,' Hor. Od. iii. 27, 1; 'picus et cornix est ab laeva, corvus, *parra* ab dextera,' Plaut. As. ii. 1, 12. In Sweden the flight of the *lom* (a sort of heron, says Ihre) is presignificant, Sup. K, 94. To see the *magpie from the front* is a good sign, *from behind* a bad, I, 158. When you hear the first *swallow* in

[1] 'The story of S. Martin and the *martin* is in Bosquet 219. 220.'—SUPPL.

[2] 'Me l' ha vaticinato la *cornacchia*, che la mia bella donna m' infinocchia,' is fooling me, Tommaseo 1, 224.

spring, stop at once (on your road), and from under your left foot dig a coal out of the ground, I, 217. G, l. 98; just as one cut out the footmark on the spot where one heard the cuckoo (p. 1129).[1] Ms. 2, 118b. 208b: 'nû jârlanc stêt vil hôch mîn muot, ich hôrte den süezen sanc von einer *swalwen dâ si fluoc,*' as she flew. Servants in Denmark notice whether they see the *stork* for the first time *flying* or *standing*, Sup. K, 130. With the *frog*, all depends on where you see him hop first, *on land* or *in water*, I, 237. To meet a *bald* or *plucked hen* was reckoned bad:

Enmi sa voie a encontrée
une *geline pielée,*
qui pasturoit en la charriere;
a poi ne sen retorne arriere,
por ce quil *i entendoit sort;*
à ses piez trueve un baston tort,
à la geline lest aler,
et ele sen prist à voler,
en son gelinois le maudist
'honte li viegne!' et il si fist.

Passages in Provençal poetry bearing upon augang are collected in Diez's Lives of the Troub. p. 22-3; they relate to the *raven*, *crow* and varieties of the falcon tribe (*albanel, gavanh*), the criteria being their *right* or *left* flight, their *going* or *coming*, their *crying* or keeping *silence:*

Los *destres* e'ls *senestres*, los *anans* e'ls *venens*,
d'*albanel*, de *gavanh*, d'autras auzels *ferens*,
del *corp* e de la *gralha*, los *crîdans*, los *tacens*.

Poes. der troub. p. 221. One would like to have fuller accounts of this bird-interpreting as practised in the Mid. Ages (see Suppl.).[2]

[1] Quum *primo hirundinem videris*, hoc dic ter: 'rogo te, hirundo, ut hoc anno oculi mei non lippeant,' Fundgr. 1, 325.

[2] The heathen Arabs watched the flight of birds: *zeger* and *ljavet* are almost synonymous terms [meaning to expound], *zeger* being used when you throw a stone at the bird and shout to it; if then he *flies* to your *right* hand, it is a good sign, if to your *left*, bad: *ljavet* is in general the interpretation of the names, the alighting and the cries of birds that you encounter. The science seems to culminate in the *knowledge of bird-language*, which from the time of Solomon has never fallen into oblivion in the East. The *raven* is reckoned a herald of misfortune (Rückert's Hariri 1, 591-2). Of Indian augury many examples might be given, for instance in the Râmâyana: 'hae *aves* tibi declarant horrendum periculum imminere,' Schlegel's Ind. bibl. 2, 225. A shepherd ascribed the discomforts that had

Our early ages appear also to have seen a meaning in the *over-flight* of certain birds. Ms. 2, 1[b] on the lord of the Dürings: '*ob ime* ein *adelar* (over him an eagle) z'allen zîten ist *mit hôhen flügen* gewesen.' *Eagles* spread their wings over famous heroes to shade them from the sun: when the heathen deputies came to Charles's hall,[1] they saw 'daz die adelaren dar zu gewenit wâren, daz sie *scate bâren*,' Rol. 21, 20. This evidently stands connected with the *eagle* over Charles's palace (p. 633), perhaps even with that in Oðin's hall, Sæm. 41[b]. The *dove* hovering above was mentioned p. 148; supervenire and adumbrare are even Biblical language. By the side of 'drûpir iörn yfir' I place an important stanza of the Hâvamâl, Sæm. 12[b]:

ôminnis hegri, sâ er yfir öl'ðrom þrumir,
hann stelr geðí guma;
þess fugls fiöðrom ec fiötraðr varc
î garði Gunnlaðar

(oblivionis ardea, qui super symposiis stridet mentemque hominum furatur; ejus avis pennis captus sum in domo Gunnladae). It is Oðinn that speaks, who, after intoxicating himself with full draughts of nectar at the house of Gunnlöð (p. 903-5), flies away in *eagle's* shape, 'ôminnis hegri' being a circumlocution for the divine bird. Hegri stands for hêgri, hrêgri, AS. hrâgra, OHG. heigiro, hreigiro, *ἐρωδιός*, one large bird instead of another. When Oðinn swilled the drink he had longed for, and enjoyed the favour of the fair giantess, he was fettered in eagle's feathers, i.e. put on the form of an eagle. How like the myth of Zeus, when, transformed into an eagle, he carries off Ganymede, and makes him pour out nectar for him! (see Suppl.).[2]

The Romans framed a system of augury of their own, not based on the flight of wildfowl, but on the domestic breed of poultry. The Greeks practised an *ἀλεκτρυομαντεία* by laying

dogged him all day long to the single circumstance, that *early in the morning* a snake had crawled *across his path*.

[1] The description of this hall, and the impression its splendour must have made on the strangers, is wonderfully like what goes on in Asgard during Gylfi's visit, Sn. 2. Conf. the similar Lombard story in the Chron. Salern. by Arichis (Pertz 5, 479).

[2] Those words in the Hâvamâl, portraying the sublime rapture of immortality and likewise the art of poesy, Scand. commentators have taken for a description of ordinary drunkenness, against whose consequences we are warned in an Icel. poem entitled 'Ominnis hegri.'

grains of corn on the letters of the alphabet, and letting a *cock* pick them off. The Roman divination was simpler, according to the eager or sluggish *eating*, or *refusing to eat*, of *young fowls*; every legion had its pullarius, who bred, fed and guarded the fowls, and the consul held the augurium in his own house or tent: 'pullis regitur imperium Romanum, hi jubent acies' says Pliny 10, 24; and Procopius 1, 316 gives examples.[1] Yet they also observed the cries of the cock and hen: '*gallina cecinit*' is named amongst other bad omens for the bridegroom, in Terence's Phormio iv. 4, 30; the gloss of Donatus makes it mean 'superiorem marito esse uxorem.' And in our own superstition (I, 83; L, 23) a *hen that crowed* like a cock was held in horror. If a listener under the henroost heard the *cock* crow, the omen was happy, if the *hen* cried, it was sad (I, 105. 1055); the same thing applies to droppings of the *cock* and *hen* (I, 230). The *gander* too was supposed to prophesy (I, 847). The Esthonians distinguish between birds of *bare* and those of *shaggy foot* (M, 95).

Often it is neither the flight of wayside fowl, nor the chance encounter of a quadruped, but their appearing, their residing *in the dwellings* of men that bodes them weal or woe. The *swallow* (L, 9) and the *stork* are birds of luck (p. 672), one is glad to see storks build on one's roof (I, 215). He that first sees the stork fly in spring, is sure to go on a journey. To the Lettons the *titmouse* foretokened good, its name is *sihle*, and *sihleht* is to foretell (p. 683). A *weasel* or *snake* on the roof boded ill (Suidas sub v. Xenocrates); '*anguis* per impluvium decidit de tegulis,' Ter. Phormio iv. 4, 29. So does a *mouse* nibbling at your clothes, Sup. I, 184. *Raven, crow* or *magpie* on a *sick house* is unlucky, or of double meaning, I, 120. 158. 496 (see Suppl.).

There were *corpse-birds, birds of dole*, whose appearing signified actual or impending death. I suppose the turtle-dove with her melancholy wail to have been such to the Goths, by their calling her *hráivadubô* (corpse-dove); neither τρυγών nor turtur conveys this collateral sense, the bird merely mourns her lost mate;[2] tales about her are coll. in Aw. 3, 34. One of the way-

[1] Record of 788 in Marini no. 56, p. 94: 'et alia multa de vestra infidelitate cognovimus ad pullorum comtum' (r. cantum).

[2] The Langobards used to erect, among the graves in their churchyards, poles (perticas) in memory of their kinsfolk who had fallen in war or in foreign parts: on

birds, the *owl*, is also, and preeminently, in place here (Sup. I, 789; L, 8). Hartmann contrasts her flight *across one's path* with that of the mûsar, hers appears to have been baleful, as his was wholesome: Ms. 2, 174 says 'der *iuweln fluc*' ne'er profited the world. Ovid Met. 5, 550:

> foedaque fit volucris, venturi nuntia luctus,
> *ignavus bubo*, dirum mortalibus omen.

Here metamorphosis strikes in: the owl was an enchanted person, and *strix, strinx* ('*e tectis* strix violenta canat,' Tibull. i. 5, 52), *bruxa* signify at once the bird and the witch that fly by night (p.1039n.): '*ululae, upupae, bubones* toto anno *in tectis funebria* personantes,' p. 481n.; 'male ominatos *cantus ululanum*,' Chron. S. Trudonis p. 379. The OHG. *holz-rûna, holz-muoja, holz-muwo* (Gl. Flor. 988^{b}. 996^{b}. Sumerl. 10, 65. 27, 44. 29, 74) translate lamia, but they rather express wailing bodeful birds, or sprites (of both sexes), who are heard whispering and muttering (rounding, mooing) in the wood, p. 433. Hence also their name of *klag-muhme* (wailing aunt), *klag-mutter, klage-weib*;[1] in the Ackerman v. Böhmen, ed. Hag. p. 38, 'klagmut' should be amended 'klagmuoter.' In the Upper Harz *klagmutter, klag-weib, klagefrau* mean a spectral yet winged being (Spiel's Archiv 2, 247); elsewhere it is called *weh-klage* (Sup. I, 863), *leich-huhn* (lich-hen), *grab-eule, todten-vogel*, and in Brunswick the *läpsch*, because of its lazy lingering flight (Brauns. anz. 1746. p. 236), '*ignavus* bubo,' which again calls up the old sense of *feig* (fey, moribundus). Other prognostics of death are, when the *raven belches*, Sup. G, l. 166, when a *cock* or *hen* trails straw, M, 77,

the top of the pole was fixed the wooden image of a *dove*, whose head or beak pointed in the direction where the loved one lay buried; Paul. Diac. 5, 34 (not unlike the gyrating eagle on the palace-roof, p. 634). The *dove* represented the sorrowing kinsman who set up the pole. Precisely so the Servians of to-day make the *cuckoo* mourn for them (p. 682): on a wooden cross 6 feet high are carved as many *cuckoos* as there are survivors, esp. sisters, to mourn the dead. A girl who has lost a brother can never hear the cuckoo sing without breaking into a flood of tears; kukumene! is an interjection of grief, Montenegro, Stuttg. 1837. pp. 99. 100. All this setting up of doves and cuckoos brings to mind that of *horses' heads* on poles and roofs (p. 659), of *eagles* on roofs (p. 633-4).

[1] The Lausitz Wends call our wehklage *boże sedleško*, God's little chair [saddle?]: it appears either as a *white hen*, or as a beautiful *white child*, whose piteous wailing and weeping announces impending misfortune. In Bohemian too *sedlisko* is a seat and also the nightmare, perhaps because the demon mounts and rides (incubus).

when the *galadrot* (charadrius) turns his head away from the sick man (see Suppl.).

In the same way other animals give notice of a death: when a priest is called in, and his *horse* lowers his head, Sup. M, 35; when a black *ox* or *cow* has been killed in the house, I, 887, which points right back to ancient sacrifices. Also the *mole* burrowing in a human habitation 555. 601. 881, the *cricket* chirping 555. 600. 930,[1] the *woodworm* ticking 901, and *mice* nibbling at the clothes of a sleeper (see Suppl.).

Prophetic *ants*, Sup. K, 88; M, 99. A *spider* running toward you early in the morning is unlucky, but there are luck-spinners too, I, 134. Bosquet 219. A *swarm of bees* settling on a house betokens fire, I, 160 or some disaster,[2] from those in Drusus's camp downwards (Pliny 11, 18. Dio Cass. 54, 33. Jul. Obsequens de prodig. 1, 132). To Leopold of Austria they foretold the loss of Sempach fight in 1386: 'da kam ein *imb* geflogen, in d'linden er genistet hat, *an's herzogen waffen er flog* als do der selbig herzog wol für die linden zog: das *diutet frömbde geste*, so redt der gemeine man,' Wackern. leseb. 703. It is usually a *flight of grasshoppers* that announces *stranger guests* (Justinger p. 160, conf. 271), or else a good *take of salmon*, ib. 379. Other intimations of *coming guests* in Sup. I, 71-2-3. 889. 1028; K, 63 (see Suppl.).

Lifeless things, especially elements, can furnish omens. *Flames* standing on the *helmets* or *spears* of warriors were a prognostic of victory (*νίκης σύμβολον*). Sæm. 110[a. b] mentions a fire of this kind, but not what it signified: '*hyrr* leingi mun *â brodds oddi* bifaz'; and more plainly 151[b]: '*af geirom geislar* (rays) stôðo.' Tac. Ann. 12, 64: 'signa militum arsere'; 15, 7: 'pila militum arsere.' Procop. de b. Vand. 2, 2: *τῶν δοράτων αὐτοῖς τὰ ἄκρα πυρὶ πολλῷ κατελάμπετο, καὶ αὐτῶν αἱ αἰχμαὶ καίεσθαι ἐπὶ πλεῖστον σφίσιν ἐδόκουν.* Greg. Tur. mirac. Mart. 1, 10: 'dum haec agerentur, duae puerorum *lanceae emissis flammis* lumen euntibus praebuerunt, ibantque *fulgurantes hastae*.' Before the battle of Prague in 1620 a *will o' wisp* settled on the general's

[1] Sometimes these '*heimen* or *grillen*' mean prosperity to the house, Sup. I, 313. 609.

[2] 'Examen apum in arbore praetorio imminente consederat,' Livy 21, 46. 'fastigium Capitolii examen apium insedit,' Tac. Ann. 12, 64.

flag, and was taken for a pledge of victory. This too is the Dioscuri's *flame*, that shone on the masts of ships, a saving sign under stress of storm. Further, *a candle that sneezes* (spits), a *brand that snaps over* (Sup. I, 889) betoken *guests* again; a candle that *goes out*, death (150); one that *burns roses* (forms wick-heads), good luck (252). To *spill oil* or *wine*, to *pour water* under the table, were signs to the ancients, one good, the other bad. The *table squeaking*, the *rafters creaking*, justified the gloomiest auguries (Dempster 3, 9). *Water sinking away* or *rising* indicated a death or famine (p. 590). When the *fire crackles*, or *salt is spilt*, it is a sign of strife, Sup. I, 322. 534-5. 64. Connect with this the mythic interpretation of the *bickering flame*, p. 242: the god is present in the flame as in the bodeful *thunder*. *Gaps* formed by earth tumbling in (*gropar*) prognosticate a death (M, 95); from the sound of the *first three clods* thrown into a grave, you can tell if others will die soon. A *splinter* splitting off the floor is a sign of guests (I, 71. 1032), a *hoop* bursting off a barrel, of death (I, 149) [1] (see Suppl.).

The custom of sprinkling *barleycorns* on the hot fireplace, and watching if they *leap up* or *lie still*, I find in Burchard alone, Sup. C, p. 195[d], not in later authors; the Greek *κριθομαντεία* was different.

If in time of war *two ears* of corn were found *on one stalk*, it was thought to prefigure the return of peace;[2] on the contrary, for the *cherry-tree to blossom twice in the year* is a sign of war, Sup. I, 1116 (see Suppl.).

Other things, without any augury or sorcery being founded on them, are considered wholesome or hurtful: particularly things *found, begged* or *stolen*. Thus the *finding* of a four-leaved clover, of three whole grains in a baked loaf (Sup. I, 685), of a nail or tooth off a harrow 539. 636, which enable the possessor to discern witches (p. 1078), inventio acus vel oboli reservati (E, 11 r. b.),

[1] Suston. in Octav. 92: 'auspicia quaedam et omina pro certissimis observabat: si mane sibi *calceus* perperam ac *sinister pro dextero* induceretur, ut dirum (like Wladislaus, p. 1123); si terra marive ingrediente se longinquam profectionem forte *rorasset*, ut laetum, maturique et prosperi reditus.

[2] Elisab. Charlotte of Orleans writes July 17, 1695: 'I am well weary of the war; pray, dear Louise, acquaint yourself if it be true that near Giessen they have found a stalk, which the Landgraf of Darmstatt hath in safe keeping, whereon are II ears, and if the like was found at the end of the 30 years' war.' It is also believed that lightning will not strike a house where a stalk with two ears is kept.

of a needle (K, 46) according as it turns head or point toward you (I, 235), of a felloe off a wheel 351, of a horseshoe 129. 220 (Hone's Yrbk 1600); a *begged* loaf 13, a ring made of begged silver pennies 352; a *stolen* duster 431, tie of a meal-sack 216, loaf 183-8, timber 1000 (Firmenich 2, 33), fishing-tackle (K, 48), weaver's knots. In finding things the favour of fortune comes into play; to things begged the labour, to things stolen the risk of acquisition lends additional value: three gulps of begged wine drive away the hiccup. And not only stolen property in a particular case, but a thief's hand (p. 1073n.), a spur made out of a gibbet-chain (I, 385), the gallows-rope itself (386. 921. G, l. 217), possess a peculiar virtue; conf. the origin of the gallows-mannikin, Deut. sag. no. 83 (see Suppl.).

A *wheel* placed over the gateway brings luck (I, 307); is the notion of fortune's wheel (p. 866) or the sun's wheel (pp. 620. 701) at work here? *Splinters* of a tree struck by *lightning*, *coffin-splinters* are of use (I, 171. 208). The bridal bed must have only *dry wood*, but *off living trees*;[1] other fancies about the bridal bed 486-7. No picked up feathers, no hen's feathers should be put in a bed 281. 346. 593.

Choosing of days prevailed among the Jews (Levit. 19, 26. Deut. 18, 10), Greeks, and probably all heathens. Hesiod distinguishes between mother-days and stepmother-days, he goes over all the good days of Zeus, and all the bad, Ἔργα κ. Ἡμ. 765 (710) seq. Even if our names for the days of the week were imported from abroad (p. 127), yet native superstitions may have been mixt up with them from a very early time. 'Nullus observet' so preached Eligius, '*qua die* domum exeat, vel *qua die* revertatur, nullus ad inchoandum opus diem aut lunam attendat.' Hincmar 1, 656: 'sunt et qui *observant dies* in motione itineris et in inchoatione aedificandae domus.' Sueton. in Oct. 92: 'observabat et *dies* quosdam, ne aut postridie *nundinas* quoquam proficisceretur, aut nonis quidquam rei seriae inchoaret.' Pliny 28, 5: 'ungues resecari[2] *nundinis* Romanis tacenti, atque a

[1] Odofredus in I. legata digest. de supellect. leg.: 'mulieres quando nubunt, volunt lectum de lignis siccis, sed de arbore vivente. sed in omnibus opinionibus suis fatuae sunt.'

[2] The nails in general are carefully watched: when they blossom, i.e. have specks of white, luck blossoms too. Much depends on which hand and what finger the blossoms are on (Reusch). Pliny touches more than once on the

digito indice, multorum pecuniae religiosum.' Even amongst us the superstition survives, that the nails should be cut on a particular day, Friday especially. A day that will bring misfortune is called *verworfen*, castaway, accursed (Sup. G, l. 51).[1] The ancient Germans appear to have kept *Wednesday* and *Thursday* holy above all, after their chief gods Wôdan and Thunar: the Indiculus has a section 'de feriis quas faciunt Jovi vel Mercurio.' Later on I find no day more superstitiously observed than *Thursday*, p. 191; also by the Esthonians, M, 59. One should not move to a new dwelling on Thursday, for birds carry nothing to their nests that day. On the other hand, *Wednesday* and *Friday* are counted *accursed witch-days*, I, 613. 658. 745; separately, *Wednesday* 567, *Friday* 241. 800. M, 59. 60. In records of witch-trials (see the Quedlinburg), the devils mostly appear on a *Thursday* or *Tuesday*. *Monday* too is a bad day for a fresh beginning (I, 771. 821). *Tuesday* is the time to begin journeys, to form marriage contracts.[2] Fat Tuesday, Swed. *fet-tisdag*, Fr. *mardi gras* favours enterprises (K, 79. 84). *Sunday* is lucky (I, 243. 634). The christians had, beside the great festivals, many days in the year marked by something special, above all *St. John's*; and almost every holy day stood in a particular relation to sowing, planting, cattle-breeding and the like. The Dan. *skjer-torsdag* in K, 168-9 is Maundy Thursday. Hardly ever was a nation so addicted to day-choosing as the christians in the Mid. Ages. The old heathen yule-days and solstices coincided with Christmas and St. John's (see Suppl.).

Closely connected with angang and day-choosing is another widely diffused superstition. As a prosperous day's work depended on a favourable encounter at early morning, as the escort of *wolf* or *raven* augured victory; so a tribe on its travels was guided to its place of settlement by a divinely missioned *beast*. Under such guidance colonies were founded, towns, castles,

resegmina unguium 28, 23: 'e pedibus manibusque cera permixta ante solis ortum alienae januae affigi jubent . . . digitorum resegmina unguium ad cavernas formicarum abjici jubent, eamque quae prima coeperit trahere, correptam subnecti collo.' This significance of *nail-parings* is worth dwelling on, as our heathenism attributes to them even a greater, making the world's end depend upon them (p. 814, Naglfar).

[1] See passages in a Homily of the 8th cent. on this superst., Pertz's Archiv 6, 500-1.

[2] So in Bohemia and Moravia. Löwe's Denkw. u. reisen 72.

churches built; the rise of new establishments and kingdoms is hallowed by *beasts*, which, alien to all human ends, reveal the higher counsels of the gods.

Greek and Roman story teems with examples. A *raven* leads Battus and his emigrants to Cyrene (*κόραξ ἡγήσατο*, Callim. Hymn to Apollo 66). The Irpini are so called from irpus, the *wolf* that led them (Strabo 2, 208).[1] Flôki sacrificed for three ravens to shew him the way: 'hann fêkk at blôti miklu, ok blôtaði *hrafna þriâ, þâ er honum skyldu leið vîsa*, þvîat þâ höfðu hafsiglîngarmenn engir leiðarstein î þann tîma î Norðrlöndum,' Islend. sög. 1, 27; the divine bird supplied the place of a loadstone to seafaring men. It can hardly be a mere accident, that the guides oftenest named are just the *raven* and *wolf*, Wuotan's favourites, who presaged victory and weal.[2] In the Vita Severini c. 28 the *bear* acts as guide. The *hart* and *hind* also shew the way, as Procopius 4, 5 makes the *hind* do to Cimmerian hunters. So in Jornandes of Hunnish huntsmen: 'dum in ulteriori Maeotidis ripa venationes inquirunt, animadvertunt quomodo ex improviso *cerva* se illis obtulit, ingressaque palude, nunc progrediens nunc subsistens, *indicem* se *viae* tribuit . . . mox quoque, ut Scythica terra ignotis apparuit, *cerva disparuit*.' Here, instead of the hunter story, Sozomen (Hist. eccl. 6, 37) has one about a herdsman, though he knows the other one too: 'forte fortuna *bos œstro percitus* lacum transmittit, sequitur bubulcus; qui cum terram trans lacum vidisset, tribulibus suis nuntiat. Sunt alii

[1] A bird admonished the Aztecs in Mexico to emigrate, by calling down from the tree 'tihui!' i.e. let us go! Majer's Myth. taschenb. 1813. p. 63.

[2] A name of happiest augury for a hero must have been the OHG. *Wolf-kraban*, Wolfram, to whom the two animals jointly promised victory. And I notice that no animal's name but the wolf's is ever compounded with 'gang': *Wolfgang* (Lupambulus A.D. 1000, Act. Bened. sect. 6 pars 1 p. 3) designates a hero before whom goes the wolf of victory; a similar presage may lie in *Wisantgang* (Goth. Visandavandalareis, Procop. de b. Goth. 1, 18 *Οὐισανδος Βανδαλάριος*). The heathen faith alone opens to us the meaning of old names, which are no product of pure chance. There may be good reason for supposing that in the quaint old Spell XIV *Martin* and *Wolfgang* are invoked as shepherds' saints: one had sway over the crow (raven), the other over the wolf. Servian mothers name a son they have longed for, *Vuk*, wolf: then the witches can't eat him up. So Greeks and Romans thought *Λυκίσκος Lyciscus* a lucky name, OHG. glosses render lyciscus (the animal) wolfbizo, and there may have been a man's name *Wolfbizo*, one bitten by the wolf, and thereby protected. Vuk sub v. 'vuko-yedina' says, if one in the family way eats of a lamb or goat that the wolf has bitten to death, the babe she gives birth to will shew a wound, which they call *vukoyedina*, i.e. wolfbizo. They also cut the wolf's bite out of a lamb or goat, smoke-dry it, and preserve it as a sanative (see Suppl.).

qui dicunt *cervum* quibusdam Hunnis venantibus, cum per lacum ab illis fugeret, *monstrasse viam.*' Hunters the stag leads, herdsman the ox, heroes the wolf. But christians, even warriors, will rather have the deer for guide than the heathenish wolf: a *doe* shewed the Franks the ford of safety over the Main, Ditm. Merseb. ed. Wagn. 245; conf. Otto Fris. de gestis Frid. 1, 43 [and a *white hart* over the Vienne]. A raven the christians would have taken for a messenger of the devil. Flodoardus in Hist. Remens. 1, 24 (ed. Duac. p. 145) relates one instance of the eagle: 'conscenso silvosi montis vertice, dum circumferentes oculorum aciem de monasterii corde volutant positione, subito sublimi coelorum mittitur *aliger index* a culmine, per quem coelos scansuro locus in terris beato depromeretur Theoderico. Nam mysticus ales *aquila* spatiando gyrans et gyrando circumvolans locum monasterii capacem secans aëra designavit. Et ut expressius ostenderet quid Dominus vellet, unius fere horae spatio supra ubi ecclesia construi debuit lentis volatibus stetit; et ne hoc ab incredulis casu contigisse putaretur, ipso natali Domini die quadriennio continuo supervolando monasterium circumire, mirantibus plurimis, eadem *aquila* cernebatur.' A flying *hen* indicates the site of the future castle, Deut. sag. no. 570. Boundaries are hallowed by the running or walking of a *blind horse*, of a *crab*, RA. 86. Where the fratres Philaeni had won the new frontier by running, they let themselves be *buried alive* (hic se vivos obrui pertulerunt), Pomp. Mela 1, 7; the true reason of this ratification by burial will be made clearer presently. Remus had seen six, and Romulus *twelve vultures* fly auspicious at the founding of their city, Nieb. 1, 248 (see Suppl.).

We know how the old Northmen conducted their migrations and settlements under convoy of the gods. They threw overboard the *öndvegis-súlur* or *set-stokkar* they had brought with them from the old country, and wherever these drifted to, there they landed. On such wooden posts was carved an image of the god in whom they trusted, and he pointed them to their new habitation; see esp. the Isl. sög. 1, 76-7. 234.

But not only did beasts point out a place for building on, it was often thought necessary to immure *live animals*, even *men*, in the foundation on which the structure was to be raised, as if they were a sacrifice offered to Earth, who bears the load upon

her: by this inhuman rite they hoped to secure immovable stability or other advantages. Danish traditions tell of a *lamb* being built in under the altar, that the church might stand unshaken; and of a *live horse* being buried in every churchyard, before any corpse was laid in it (p. 844). Both lamb and horse occasionally shew themselves in church or churchyard, and the apparition betokens a death (Thiele 1, 136-7). Even under other houses *swine* and *fowls* are buried alive (1, 198). Superst. I, 472 says, a long spell of good weather can be brought on by walling-in a *cock;* and 755 a cow's 'running' be prevented by bricking up a *blind dog alive* under the stable-door. In time of murrain, the Esthonians bury one *head of the herd* under the stable-door, that Death may have his victim (M, 69).[1] When the new bridge at Halle, finished 1843, was building, the common people fancied a *child* was wanted to be *walled into* the foundations. To make Liebenstein Castle impregnable, there was *walled-in a child,* whom its mother for base gold had parted with; while the masons were at work, says the story, it sat eating a roll and calling out, 'Mother, I can see you,' then, 'Mother, I see a little of you still,' and when the last stone was let in, 'Mother, I see nothing of you now' (Bechst. Thür. sag. 4, 157; conf. 206). In the outer wall of Reichenfels Castle a *child* was built in alive: a projecting stone marks the spot, and if that were pulled out, the wall would tumble down at once (Jul. Schmidt p. 153). Similar stories in Spiel's Archiv. 1, 160 with the addition, that latterly, by way of symbol, empty *coffins* were built in. A rampart had to be raised round Copenhagen, but every time it was begun, it sank down again: so they took a little *innocent maiden,* set her on a chair before a table, gave her toys and things to eat; then, while she amused herself with eating and play, twelve master-masons built a vault over her, and amid music and loud minstrelsy threw up the wall, which hath stood unshaken to this day (Thiele 1, 3). Why they kept the child playing and happy, and prevented her crying, I have explained at p. 46. It is the vulgar opinion in Greece, that whoever first goes by, where they

[1] Und hadden de delver sich mit groten unkosten an holt, balken, struk (brushwood) daran versocht, den ort to dempen, konden nicht; de olden seden, 'Animam quaeri, men scholde ein *kat* edder *hunt darin drenken.*' Als diser gebleven, wert it mit der lichte togeslagen (easily stopt up), Neocor. 2, 840. Conf. in chap. XXXVI. *inserting the shrewmouse into the ash.*

are laying the foundation-stone of a new building, shall die within a year; the builders, to avert the calamity, kill a *lamb* or a *black cock* on the stone, just as at Frankfort they made a *cock* run across the new-made bridge, DS. no. 185. At Arta a thousand masons wrought at a bridge: all that they raised in the day rushed down at night. Then sounded the archangel's voice from heaven: 'unless ye *dig thereinto a child of man*, the masonry shall not stand; yet no orphan nor stranger shall ye bury, but the master-builder's wife.' When the wife came to the workmen, the master pretended his ring had dropt into the foundation, and the woman offered to fetch it out, then swiftly they set to work to *wall her in;* dying, she pronounced a curse on the bridge, that it should tremble like a flower-stalk (Tommaseo's Canti pop. 3, 178). Still more touching is a Servian legend on the building of Scutari: For three years 300 masons laboured in vain to lay the foundations of the fortress; what they built by day, the vila tore down at night. At last she made known to the kings, that the building would never hold till two *born brothers* (or sisters) *of like name were put into the foundation.* Nowhere could such be found. Then the vila required, that of the three wives of the kings she that carried out food to the masons the next day should be *walled up in the ground.* When the consort of the youngest king, not dreaming of such a decree, brings out some dinner, the 300 masons drop their stones around her, and begin to wall her in; at her entreaty they left a small opening, and there she continued for some time to suckle her babe, who was held up to her once a day (Vuk 2, 5). Once, when the Slavs on the Danube purposed founding a new city, the heads of the people, after the old heathen wont, sent out men early before sunrise, to take the *first boy they met* and *put him into the foundation.* From this child (Serv. diète, Boh. djte, Russ. dityá pl. dèti, Pol. dziecię) the town took its name of *Detinets* (Popov's Slav. myth. p. 25). And the history of Merlin pp. 66—72 relates how, king Vortigern casting to build him a strong tower, it did alway crumble down or it were accomplished; and the wizards spake sentence, that the tower should in no wise be achieved, ere that the *groundstone* were *wet with a child's blood,* that was of woman born, but of no man begotten. May not we also connect with this superstition some words in a sermon of Berthold p. 167? 'und wizze, wanne

dû kint gewinnest, daz der tiuvel reht einen *torn mit den kindern* hât ûf dich *gemûret,'* has with the children reared a very tower on thy back (see Suppl.).

Sect. 23 of the Indiculus superst., 'de *sulcis circa villas,'* leads us to infer that round newly founded cities they ploughed furrows, whose sacredness was a safeguard against the entrance of evil. Precisely such was the Etruscan usage acc. to Varro: 'oppida condebant in Latio, Etrusco ritu, multa, id est, junctis bobus, tauro et vacca, interiore aratro circumagebant sulcum. Hoc faciebant religionis causa die auspicato, ut fossa et muro essent munita; terram unde exscalpserant fossam vocabant, et introrsum factum murum, postea quod fiebat orbis, urbs.' The bull and cow were white, Ov. Fast. 4, 825 on the pomoerium of Romulus:

Inde premens stivam signavit moenia sulco,
alba jugum *niveo* cum bove vacca tulit.

In the Comitium a vaulted chamber was *built,* and stocked with the *firstlings of all natural products* that sustain man's life, Fest. sub v. mundus. Nieb. 1, 251.

Some superstitious rites, apparently of great antiquity, are practised on such different occasions in early and in recent times, that it is hard to make out their meaning. In Burchard, Sup. C, 195°, a *waggon is divided in two,* and a corpse on the bier is carried between; in I, 929 a girl suspected of pregnancy is made to pass through a *harvest-wain* so divided. Waggon and plough are reckoned holy implements, in the midst of which no cheating or juggling can subsist.

About walking through a *cutting in the ground* and the *cleft of a tree,* see next chap., under Remedies. It is with a different view that women creep *through the stretched membrane* in which a newborn foal has lain, or *through a horse-collar,* Swed. sela, Sup. K, 167.

Again, one is not to *stride over another* person (Sup. I, 45), nor *slip through under the pole* of a vehicle 618; nor should women in a certain condition mount *across the pole or shafts* 729. 925; they should also avoid having anything *hanging* or *tangled above them* 688. 933. This resembles the rule, not to *turn wood* in the Christmas week (Sup. K, 134), nor beat cattle with *turned*

wood 58, lest it cause similar twistings and convulsions in man or beast.

I close with a few words on *interpretation of dreams*. To the A. Saxons *dreám* meant jubilum, ecstasy (p. 901); so is the OS. 'Drohtines *drôm*' = heaven, Hel. 54, 11. 63, 14. 85, 21 to be taken as 'Dei jubilum, gaudium,' as opposed to 'manno, liudo *drôm*' (p. 795), the transitory dream of this world. For somnium stood the AS. *swefen*, OS. *suebhan*; the ON. svefn is simply somnus, and sofna to fall asleep, MHG. entsweben is sopire, lull to sleep, which again has to do with OHG. suëp (aer), so that sleeping and dreaming properly mean trance or ecstasy, the spirit's soaring away into the air (conf. arprettan, p. 1083). This is closely conn. with Lat. sopor, and sompnus, somnus, somnium. Both OHG. and ON. seem to confine their *troum*, *draumr* to the sense of somnium. The Gothic word for ὄνειρος (dream) is lost to us. Instead of our proverb 'träume sind *schäume*,' dreams are foams, I have found a more truly rhyming 'träume sind *gäume*' (Ettner's Chemiker 469 and Apoth. 132), i.e. observations (MHG. goume, troume, but schûme).[1] Even antiquity did not believe in all dreams, only in difficult ones, dreamed at particular times or places. To interpret dreams is in OHG. *antfristôn*, N. Boeth. 51, more simply *sceidan*, MHG. *scheiden*, Diut. 3, 97, *bescheiden*, Walth. 95, 8. Nib. 14, 2. 19, 2; *traumscheider* meant soothsayer. The AS. had swefn *reccan*, ON. draum *râða* (see Suppl.).

Dreams are foretokenings of the future, rising out of images and impressions of the past; they and the figures in them might be called a writing or rune of destiny (p. 406n.), as Wolfram finely says of Parzival 245, 8: 'sus wart gesteppet im sîn troum mit swertslegen umbe den soum,' so was embroidered his dream with sword-strokes round the border. Like the birds, they are *messengers of the gods*, and publish their commands; but other daemonic beings send them too: 'ir *boten* künftigiu leit (coming sorrows) sanden im slâfe dar,' Parz. 245, 4. On p. 905-6 we had examples of the inspiring gift of poesy being imparted in a

[1] Yet even in Diut. 3, 96: 'waz iuwe wâre *gescâmet*,' i.e. dreamt. And schaum is backed by a still worse rhyme: 'träume sind *fäume*' (Kirchhofer's Sprichw. 342) for *feime*.

dream. As *birds* play the leading part in angang, as dreams themselves are birds and come flying, we can understand why even the subject-matter of a dream is so commonly a vision of *birds;* in some few dreams of this kind we may perhaps detect an echo of ancient myths. Kriemhild dreamt that two *eagles* caught and mangled (erkrummen) before her eyes the *wild falcon* she had reared; so Iðunn (the *swallow?*) was seized by the *eagle* Thiassi, and Oðinn the divine *heron* pursued by the eagle Suttûngr. Such images filled the fancy of the olden time: a couple of dancers in the Rudlieb 8, 49 are thus elegantly described: 'ille velut *falco* se girat, et haec ut *hirundo.*' In Roth. 3845: 'mir troumite nâhte von dir, wie ein *valke* quâme gevlogin, und vuorte dich widir over mere.' In Sv. forns. 2, 64: 'jag drömte att min herres *falkar,* de spände mig med sina klor, de togo mitt hjerta utur mitt bröst, och gjörde sig deraf ett bo.' And there are disquieting dreams of *bears, wolves, boars* p. 921-3 (see Suppl.).

Much depends on the time when and the place where dreams are dreamt. They are truest after midnight, toward morning: 'post noctem mediam, quando sunt somnia vera,' Ecbas. 227. Eracl. 3723; ghosts appear just before dawn (a case on p. 894). Yet Herzeloide dreams 'umbe einen mitten tac,' Parz. 103, 25.

As it is a grave question with newly married folk, whose light shall burn longest at the wedding feast, which shall first fall asleep on the wedding night, or get up from the bridal bed (Sup. I, 15. 485. 717; M, 17); so the *dreams* and *visions* of the *wedding night* are prophetic (see Childerich's in Aimoin 1, 8). Such a dream of Hvîtastierna in Gothland, which acquaints her with her posterity, is mentioned in the Gutalag p. 106. No less important is the *first dream in a new house* (Sup. I, 123; K, 61), but you must have counted all the rafters before going to sleep. King Gorm is admonished to build a house on a spot where none had stood before, and therein to sleep and dream (Fornm. sög. 11, 4–6; conf. Saxo Gram. 179)[1]; whereas Halfdan the black (Saga cap. 7) is advised to dream in a *pigstye,* and the dream will come true. Of dreaming in a *new bed,* Fornald. sög. 1, 367. Again, a dream on *New-year's night*

[1] 'You've ideas like an *old house*' we say on the contrary to one whose remarks are not to the point.

comes true (Sup. I, 528). In Reinh. 88, when Chanteklêr has told his ingeniously constructed dream, it is added: 'manec troum erscheinet sich über siben jâr,' comes to pass in 7 years' time. A great many dream-interpretations, which the common people hold firmly to this day, are to be found in the very earliest times (see Suppl.).

Certain dreams are so deeply rooted in Teutonic legend, that we must place their origin far back, e.g. that of the treasure which one is to be informed of *on the bridge*[1] (see Suppl.).

Like dreams and angang, some other of the customs we have noticed evidently rest on the strength of first and fresh impressions.

We are glad to be rid of this heap of superstition; yet, while it filled the lives of our forefathers with fear, it ministered some comfort also.

[1] Agricola's Sprichw. 623. Praetorius's Wünschelr. 372. Abrah. a S. Clara's Judas 1, 4. Ettner's Ung. Apoth. p. 132. Musäus's Volksm. 4, 65. R. Chambers's Fireside stories p. 12, which prove the legend rife in various parts of Scotland.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

SICKNESSES.

By the anger of the gods diseases are decreed, yet also their mercy reveals healing remedies to man. All deities can be healers, they seem to give their names to the herbs and flowers whose healing virtues they make known. With the Greeks it is chiefly *Apollo* and his sister *Artemis* from whom this knowledge is derived; our *Wuotan*, where he touches Apollo rather than Hermes, represents him in the capacity of healer too (p. 149); with Artemis and *Athena* skilled in leechcraft, we may here match our *Holda* and *Frouwa*, replaced by *Mary* in later legend. A special god of physic, *Asklepios* or *Aesculapius*, is Apollo's son and a mere emanation of him. Of divine heroes, those who practised this art were *Herakles*, *Prometheus* the giver of wholesome fire, and *Chiron*: to set by the side of these, we have the Norse *Mîmir*, our own *Wate* and *Wieland*, after whom a healing plant Wielands-wurz is named, and whose skill in smith-work resembles that of Prometheus; conf. chap. XXXVII.

As Homer celebrates *Paeon's* and *Machaon's* knowledge of medicines and wounds, so the Gudrunlied says of *Wate*:

Si hæten in langer zîte dâ vor wol vernomen (long known),
daz Wate *arzet* wære von einem *wilden wîbe*:
Wate, der vil mære, gefrumete manegem an dem lîbe.

The wild wife, who doctored (made a doctor of) this far-famed Wate, might well be a *wise-woman*, a *half-goddess* (p. 431-2). So in Scotch tradition (R. Chamb. p. 34) the mermaid points out healing herbs. Several such women appear in the Edda. *Eir* belongs altogether to the circle of goddesses: 'hon er *læknir beztr*,' best of leeches, Sn. 36. I connect her name with the Goth. áirus nuncius, AS. ârian, ON. eira parcere, and OHG. Irinc (Goth. Eiriggs?); *Eir* would be the indulgent helpful goddess and errand-woman. But another passage, Sæm. 111ᵃ,

significantly places her among the handmaidens of wise *Menglöð* (p. 423-4):

Hlîf heitir, önnur *Hlîfþursa*,
þriðja *Thioðvarta*,
Biört ok *Blîð*, *Blîður*, *Frîð*,
Eir oc *Örboða*.

Some of them seem to be *giantesses*, Hlîfþursa and Örboða, who in Sn. 39 is wife to Gŷmir, and these fit in with the notion of *wild wife*; but the majority are transparent personifications of moral ideas, *Frîð* the mansueta or parca (Goth. freidian parcere), *Hlîf* tutela or parca, from hlîfa parcere, which comes to the same thing as *Eir*, and throws a welcome light on the Latin *parca* itself. All the more right have we now to place *Biört* in immediate connexion with *Berhta*, as I conjectured on p. 272 n., and *Blîð* with *Holda*: these healing women lead us on to wise women, divine women. And that the gift of healing *is* in question here, is plain from the preceding and not less important strophe:

Hyfjaberg þat heitir, en þat hefir leingi verit
siukom ok sâri gaman:
heil verðr hver, þótt hafi års sôtt,
ef þat klîfr kona.

I translate it: Hyfjaberg this rock is called, and has long been to the sick and to wounds a solace; whole becomes any woman, though she have a year's sickness, if she climbs it. So that the rock is a holy place, dedicated to Menglöð and her maidens, where every sick woman that climbed it has found relief. The exact meaning of Hyfjaberg, or as some read it, Hyfvja-, Hyfaraberg, I cannot yet determine; enough for us, that such mount of healing accords admirably with the conception one has to form of the wise-women of olden time: prophetesses, Parcae, Muses, all are imagined dwelling on mountains. *Menglöð* may without more ado be taken to mean *Freyja* (p. 306-7), in attendance on this highest goddess would stand the other maidens of like nature; and to the art of healing we have a right worshipful origin assigned. Now too it is conceivable, why *Brynhildr*, the valkyr dwelling on her mountain, had 'lif með lækniîng' (pharmaca cum medela) ascribed to her in Sæm. 147^{b}:

she is a wise woman skilled in magic, a pharmaceutria, herbaria, and moreover understands the binding up of wounds (undir dreyrgar yfir binda, Sæm. 220ᵇ), like *Hiltgund* in Walthar. 1408. Oddrûn lends her aid to women in travail, Sæm. 239, and the Tristan has made Isote's knowledge of physic famous. At medicinal springs, by mineral waters, appears the *white lady* with the snake (p. 588n.), the beast of sovereign'st healing power, servant to Aesculapius himself. The Servian *vila* too is a physician, and heals wounds for a high fee, Vuk no. 321 [so the Bulgarian *yuda* or *samodiva*, Aug. Dozon's Bolgarski pèsni no. 3, etc.].

We see from all this, that medical science in heathen times was half priestly, half magical. Experience and higher culture gave the priests a knowledge of healing powers in nature, from the sacredness of their office proceeded salutary spells, the use of remedies was backed by sacrifice, nay, great cures and the averting of pestilence could only be effected by sacrifice. Thus all through the Mid. Ages we find the christian priests also possessors, above other men, of medicine and the art of using it. Yet some part of the old pagan science passed into the hands of wise men and women, who by retaining superstitious rites, and misusing real remedies, incurred the reproach of sorcery. Like witchcraft (p. 1038-9), and for the same reasons, the old ways of healing fell mainly into the hands of women (see Suppl.).

A physician was called in Goth. *lêkeis*, OHG. *lâhhî*, AS. *læce*, ON. *læknir*, *læknari*,[1] Swed. *läkare*, Dan. *läge*; the Engl. *leech* has sunk into the sense of peasant or cattle doctor. The MHG. *lâchenære*, *lâchenærinne* meant sorcerer, sorceress (p. 1037), though still perhaps implying the use of remedies, as in 'lâchenen und fürsehen,' Superst. D, 38 r., and *lecken* = healing, Quedlinb. witch-trials p. 77. From Teutonic nations the word must in very early times have spread to Slavs, Lithuanians, Finns: O.Sl., Boh., Russ. *lèkar'*, Serv. *lièkar*, Pol. *lekarz*, Lith. *lekorus*, Fin. *lääkäri*; or can we have got it from the Slavs? I have tried to shew a Teutonic root for it no. 300, a Slavic might be harder to find: to Sl. liek, lek (remedium) answers our OHG. lâhhan. Other

[1] 'Læknis hendur'; 'læknir vera, ok kunna sár at sjá,' Sæm. 194-5ᵃ.

names are taken from the notion of helping, bettering, as *bêtan*, böten (mederi p. 1036); ON. grœða (sanare), grœðari (chirurgus, medicus), from grôð (growth, getting on, gain); MHG. heilære (medicus), Karl 45. Our *arzt* appears already in OHG. as *arzât*, O. iii. 14, 11, MHG. *arzet*, M.Nethl. *ersetre*, Diut. 2, 223[a]; O.Fr. *artous*, *artox*; the root seems to be the Lat. ars, though arzât cannot come straight from artista.[1] The Prov. *metges*, Ferabr. 547. 1913, *mege* (Raynouard 3, 173), O.Fr. *mires*, *mirre* are from medicus.[2] The ON. 'lif' imputed to Brynhild is better spelt *lyf*, being the Goth. *lubi* (which I infer from lubja-leisei, herb-leasing = *φαρμακεία*, Gal. 5, 20), OHG. *luppi*, MHG. *lüppe*; from the sense of permissible, healing *φάρμακον*, arose that of poisonous, magical, just as our *gift* meant at first donum, then venenum. The luppari (veneficus) has a lupparâ (venefica) to match him, the herb-man his herb-woman, *herbaria*, *pharmaceutria*. In Saxo Gram. 16 a maiden cures wounds, at 25 he calls Wecha *medica*; and Thorlacius in Obs. 4, 279 has collected other instances of women healers.[3] Amongst our peasantry there are *old women* still who profess 'böten,' stroking, pouring, and charming by spells (Sup. I, 515. 865). It is remarkable that healing spells can only be handed down from *women to men*, or from *men to women* (I, 793; conf. p. 1107): we have seen how so ancient a worthy as Wate had learnt his art of a *woman*. It is principally *shepherds* that now pass for cunning mediciners (Sup. L, 35 French); formerly any kind of *herdsmen* and *hunters*: 'bubulcus, subulcus, venator,' C, int. 43. In the Mid. Ages *itinerant leeches* went about the country cheapening their drugs and skill to the people, usually attended by a man who played amusing tricks; for proofs see Rutebeuf's Diz de l'erberie (Méon nouv. rec. 1, 185—191; œuvres 1, 250–9; simil. in 1, 468—477), and the Easter play in Hoffm. Fundgr. 2, and in O. Boh. in Hanka 7, 198. These vagrant herbalists, quacks, lithotomists,

[1] '*Temperîe* (medicine) ûz würze kraft,' Parz. 643. 23. 'Lâhhinônto *temperando*,' conf. Mous. 393. [Arz-ât, ers-etre are prob. from *ἀρχ-ιατρός*: the Greek prefix arch- becomes erz- in German words.—TRANS.]

[2] The Ed. of the Garin 2, 89 would derive mire from the Arabic emir; but a Fr. *r* is often developed out of *d*, *t*, as lerre latro, beurre butyrum [these by assimil. with an *r* already present].

[3] Pomp. Mela 3, 6 of Gaulish women: 'putabantur ingeniis singularibus praeditae, et sanare quae apud alios insanabilia sunt'; whereas at Rome we find women forbidden to treat certain diseases.

are a mine of information on the methods of popular leechcraft. Greg. Tur. 9, 6 mentions a conjuror and doctor Desiderius, who wore a coat of goat's hair; the O. Slav. *bali* means physician, but strictly conjuror, Glagolita 67[b] (see Suppl.).

Crescentia, a pious persecuted saint, receives from Peter or Mary, who fill exactly the place of pagan gods, the gift of healing all diseases, Kolocz. 267, or acc. to the O. Fr. poem (Méon n. r. 2, 71-3) only leprosy. She herself might pass perfectly for a wise woman, and is actually charged with being a sorceress. Queens too in ancient times are credited with power to quench certain maladies by their touch: in Rother 32[b]. 33[a] the queen strokes the lame and crooked with a stone; and a similar virtue was ascribed to hereditary sovereigns of France and England (Hone's Yrbk p. 799). If a woman has had seven sons in succession, the *seventh* can heal all manner of hurt (Sup. I, 786); by Ettner's Hebamme 906, Maulaffe 699, his touch cures wens at the throat. French Sup. L, 22 makes it the *fifth* son. There is no end of superstitions about this seventh or fifth son: in E. Friesland they say he becomes a *walrider;* does that mean one who rides to the foughten field? conf. wel-recke, p. 418n. What seems a counterpart of it is, that when 7 girls running are born of one marriage, one of them becomes a *werwolf*, I, 1121. A child that has never known its father is able to disperse tumours (fondre les loupes), L, 21. A firstborn child, that has come into the world with teeth, can cure a bad bite, K, 29. 37. All this borders closely on the power to bequeath or transfer the gift of prophecy and the art of weather-making, pp. 1088. 1107: the healing art was as much sacerdotal as the business of fortune-telling (see Suppl.).

The distinction between *sacrifice* and *healing* would perhaps be stated most correctly by saying, the one was aimed at sickness threatened, the other at sickness broken out. Preventive sacrificial rites have no doubt been preserved longest in pastoral life: herdsmen made their cattle run through the flames, once a year,[1]

[1] One Roman rite I quote from Cato de re rust. 83: *Votum pro bubus*, ut valeant, sic facito. *Marti Silvano* in silva interdius, in capita singula boum votum facito, farris adorei libras iii. et lardi p. iv s. et pulpae iv s., vini sextarios tres. Id in unum vas liceto conjicere, et vinum item in unum vas liceto conjicere. Eam rem divinam vel servus vel liber licebit faciat. Ubi res divina facta erit, statim ibidem consumito. *Mulier* ad eam rem divinam *ne adsit, neve videat* quomodo fiat. Hoc votum in *annos singulos*, si voles, licebit vovere.

or whenever pestilence approached. But sacrifices were also performed in severe cases of actual sickness.

Our medical learning of today, as it did not proceed from the people, has by degrees banished nearly all our native names for diseases, and replaced them by Greek or Latin words. But as those names often bring us face to face with old-world notions about sickness and its cure, it will be needful to present at any rate the most important.

In the Mid. Ages *krank* has only the sense of debilis, infirmus, OHG. *wana-heil*, not of aeger, for which the term was *siech*, Goth. *siuks*, OHG. *sioh*; hence morbus was expressed not by krankheit, but by *sucht*, Goth. *saúhts*, OHG. *suht*, ON. *sôtt*, whereas now we attach to sucht the moral notion of hankering, and only retain its old meaning in a few compounds such as schwindsucht, gelbsucht, etc. There is the same relation between the ON. *þrâ* (desiderium, aegritudo animi) and *líkþrâ* (lepra), conf. Sw. trå, helletrå, Dan. traa, helletraa, DV. 2, 180. General words, expressing also the bodily pain of sickness, are OHG. *suero*, MHG. *swer*, and OHG. MHG. *wê*, *wêtago*, *wêtage* (like our *siechtage*). But a sick man is also called in OHG. *bettiriso* (clinicus), O. iii. 14, 67; MHG. *betterise*, Parz. 502, 1. 813, 16; AS. *beddrida* bedridden: a term specially used of men enfeebled by age, 'der alte betterise,' who can no longer rise out of bed. In Scand. this painless ailment of great age was called *Ana sôtt*, from king Ön or Ani, who had secured long life by sacrificing his sons (p. 46), and at last lived on milk like a child again, Yngl. saga cap. 29 (see Suppl.).

It was christian to hold sickness a *dispensation of God*, heathenish to see in it the handiwork of sprites, and something *elvish*. Accordingly it is *personified*: it comes upon, surprises, attacks, seizes, takes hold of, overpowers man: *δαίμων ἐπέχραε, στυγερὸς δέ οἱ ἔχραε δαίμων*, Od. 5, 396 [the daemon afflicts; in the next line the gods heal]. In the Hel. 92, 1: 'mid suhtium bifangan, bedrogan hebbiad sie *dernea wihti*. thea *wrêdon* habbiad sie giwittiu benumune;' and in Versus Hartmanni (Canisius ii. 3, 203: 'fugit pestis ab homine, quam *daemon saevus* miserat.' No wonder that in the Edda an oath is exacted from *diseases*, as from living creatures, to do no harm to Balder, Sn. 64. Like death or destiny (p. 406), pestilence carries off: 'suht farnam,'

Hel. 125, 20; in the Swed. oath 'trå mig!' we must supply 'tage' take: ita me morbus auferat! In the Cod. Vindob. th. 428 no. 94 I find the phrase 'eine suht ligen, zwô suht ligen,' to lie one sickness, two s.; 'sich in die suht legen,' lay oneself (lie down) into, Reinh. 302. 320.

This daemonic nature of diseases makes people call them by friendly *flattering names* to keep them away, just as they do to horrible uncanny beasts, and avoid uttering their right name; they call a disease *the good, the blessed*, Schm. 2, 87. 3, 212. 222, and the pestilence is addressed as *gossip*. There will be more examples to quote in speaking of particular diseases (see Suppl.).

Fever, OHG. *fiebar*, AS. *fefor*; Goth. *heitô*, Mat. 8, 15 and *brinnô*, Mk 1, 31. Lu. 4, 38, both for πυρετός, and both fem.; OHG. has no corresp. hîzâ, prinnâ. The Swiss have *hitz* and *brand* (Tobler 74ª), and the AS. *âdl*, Beow. 3469. 3692 seems to be burning fever, from âd ignis, so that the OHG. would be eital. An OHG. *rito* masc., Gl. Mons. 391, from rîtan to ride, not from rîdan to writhe, as fever does not twist like the cramp; and the AS. word should be spelt *rida*, not wriða; Lye has *rideroð* febris. It is imagined as an *elf* who *rides the man* with rein and spur: 'der *alp zoumet* dich,' bridles thee; 'der *mar rîtet* dich,' p. 464; ON. '*mara trað* hann,' Yngl. s. cap. 16; 'der *rite* bestuont in,' stood upon him, Alex. 2208. In En. 10834 and Eracl. 3166 *suht, fieber, rite* are named side by side, are therefore distinct; in En. 10350 '*suht* und *rite*'; 9694 '*suht* und *fieber*'; 9698 'diu minne tuot kalt und heiz mêr dan der *viertage rite*,' love makes hot and cold like the quartan ague. In curses: 'habe den *riden* und die *suht* umb dînen hals!' about thy neck, Morolt 715. 'die *suht* an iwern lôsen kragen!' your unruly neck, Reinh. p. 302-12. 'nu muoze der *leide ride* vellen!' sore fever fell him, Karlmeinet 110. *Ride* seems to be especially ague, which is sometimes called *frörer*, Sup. I, 183; though we also hear of 'ritten frost' and 'ritten hitze.' Imprecations common in the 15-16th cent. are: 'may the *ritt* shake you, the *jarritt* (yearlong fever), the *gæhe rite* (swift r.) be at you!' 'May the *ritt* shake you to your bones,' Garg. 96ª. 'Ins *ritts* namen habt rhu,' H. Sachs iii. 3, 10ᶜ. They said: 'whence brings him the *ritt*?' the same as the devil, p. 1113. Boner's well-told Fable 48 deserves attention: the *rite* appears in person (in what shape?),

and holds a dialogue with the flea. It is plainly [not ?] of Mid. Age invention; Petrarch epist. 3, 13 relates it of the spider and the gout, and calls it anilis fabella. In Bavaria fever is personified as *beutelmann*, shaker, Schm. 1, 219; a spell against fever speaks of 72 fevers. Russian superstition supposes *nine sisters* who plague mankind with fevers; they lie chained up in caverns, and when let loose, pounce upon men without pity (Götze's Russ. volksl. p. 62). My explanation acquires certainty from the Esthonian phrase '*ayan walged, ayan halli*,' I ride the white, I ride the gray, i.e. I have the ague (Rosenplänter's Beitr. 12, 42-3).

The Greek *ἐπιάλτης*, *ἐφιάλτης*, literally on-leaper, was a daemonic incubus, an alp, elf, who causes the feverish oppression of nightmare; and *ἡπιάλης*, *ἡπιόλης* nightmare, and *ἡπίαλος*, *ἡπίολος* fever, fever-chill, meant the same thing, though grammarians tried to separate them by difference of accent. Add to this, that in Aristot. hist. an. 8, 26 *ἡπίολος* turns up in the sense of *butterfly*, and the notions of spirit, elf and butterfly constantly run into one another (pp. 829. 917). In Lith., *drugis* is butterfly and fever-bird, in Lett., *drudsis* flying moth and fever. Lith. druggis kreczia, Lett. drudsis kratta; the fever shakes (one).

An AS. manuscript on diseases and remedies quoted by Wanley pp. 176—180 (conf. supra p. 140) has at p. 180 *ælf-âdle* læcedôm, cure for elf-burn, *ælfcynne-sealf*, elf-salve, *nihtgengean sealf*, night-wives' salve.[1] Elsewhere I find an ailment *ælf-sîdenne*.

By the *red* and the *white dog* in Ettner's Unw. doctor 436 we prob. are to understand measles or rose-rash; *red dog* again in the Leipz. avanturier 1, 86. The Persians call scarlet-fever *al*, and picture it as a *rosy maid* with locks of flame, Atkinson p. 49. 50 (see Suppl.).

By *gout* (gicht f.) we understand a pain in the limbs, arthritis; in older Germ. it was neuter: 'daz *gegihte* brichet (breaks) sie,' a. Heinr. 886. Ulr. Trist. 1461. 'daz *gegihte* brach ir hend und füeze,' Râb. 1060; hence our 'gicht-*brüchig*,' palsied. 'daz wüetende *gihte*,' Renner 9904. As we also find darm-gicht (intestinal g.) for colic, and 'sun-giht' on p. 617n. meant the sun's

[1] Ibid. 'wið ælfcynnesealf and wið nihtgengan, and þâm monnom *þe deofol mid hæmð*,' against elf-salve and nightgangers and the men the devil homes (consorts) with (sup. p. 890).

gait, going, turning, I think *gicht* was a general term denoting the *shooting*, *twisting* and *tugging* of pain in the body; and a derivative corresp. to the Goth. *gahts* (innagahts, Gramm. 3, 518). M. Nethl. *jicht*, Icel. *ikt*, Sw. *gikt*, Dan. *gigt*. The Gothic renders παραλυτικός by *us-liþa*, as if beside one's limbs, having no use of them; an OHG. *urlido* is not found. 'Ein siechtuom heizet *pôgrât*'=leme, a lame palsied state, Parz. 501, 26 is a corruption of podagra, which was also twisted into podagram. More Teut. are *fuoz-suht*, AS. *fôt-âdl* (podagra); *zipperlein* I do not find before the 16th cent. M. Nethl. *fledersîn*, *fledercine* (arthritis), Leven van Jesus p. 52, and '*fl.* in vote ende in lede,' Doctrinale 3, 1030; in D'Arsy's Woordenboeck, Amst. 1699, '*fledecijn*, *flerecijn*, la goutte (chiragra)'; did the word mean a moth or butterfly that brought on the disease? (see Suppl.).

The flying gout that shifts from one part to another (arthritis vaga) was called in N. Germany (Holstein, the Baltic coast), at least as late as the 17th cent., 'dat *varende*, *lopende deer*,' and in some parts of L. Sax. and Westph. 'de *varen*, de *varende*, de *lopende varen*,' the faring, running (sprites or things). So that this disease again was regarded as a spiritual-animal being which had been conjured into the body. Still plainer are the names 'die *fliegenden elbe*,' 'die *gute kinderen*' (Brunswk), 'die *gute holde*' (abt Göttingen), exactly what the elvish 'things' were called that witches conjured into people (p. 1074). And they likewise were imagined in the form of *butterflies* or *worms*, which caused gnawing pains and swellings in the joints of the hands and feet.[1] The disease being an obstinate one, and often hard to cure, the common people set it down as the work of witches. It is also called the *hair-worm*, and in the Netherlands *jumping gout*. A spell classifies gouts as *running*, *staying*, *trembling*, *evening*, and *growing* gegicht.

But the operations of the *holden* must have been far more extensive, and concerned in many more diseases. The *Hollenzopf*, *Wichtelzopf* (plica polon.) was spoken of, pp. 464. 474. In Russ. the plica is *volosets*, which borders on Vólos p. 625n., but comes from vólos, vlas, hair. A witch confessed (Voigt's Abh. p. 122)

[1] Joh. Weyer's Arzneibuch (J. Wier, Piscinarius, b. at Grave in Brab. 1515, d. at Tecklenb. 1588), Frkft 1583, p. 27. Henr. Meibom de arthritide vaga scorbutica, Helmest. 1668. 1, cap. 1.

that there were *nine sorts of holdichen:* the riding, splitting, blowing, wasting, flying, swelling, deaf, dumb, blind.

The Poles also call *worms* that breed diseases in man *białe ludzie,* white folk, i.e. elves (Biester's Neue Berl. mon. schr. 1802. 8, 230).

We apply the term *fluss* (rheuma) to several morbid affections, some slight, others dangerous to life, as *stickfluss* catarrh, *schlagfluss* apoplexy. The latter is said to touch, hit, strike; MHG. der *Gotes slac* (stroke); later, die *gewalt* (might) *Gottes,* die *hand Gottes,* Ettn. unw. doct. 224. 'traf mich *Gottes gewalt*' = I had a stroke, Brunsw. anz. 1745. p. 2022 (from Life of Mat. Schwarz, an. 1547); conf. supra p. 19n. Yet the 'stroke of God'[1] expresses also the *quickness* and *ease* of this mode of death (mors lenis repentina), compared with those that chain us long to a bed of pain: hence another name for apoplexy was 'das *selig,*' the blessed. We may compare the dwarf-stroke, *dverg-slagr,* palsy, p. 461. The Bohemians distinguish *Božj moc* (God's might) epilepsy, from *Božj ruka* (God's hand) apoplexy (see Suppl.).

The term *falling sickness* for epilepsy occurs as early as Diut. 2, 193^{b}, '*valjandia suht* (caducum morbum)'; 'daz *fallende übel,*' Fundgr. 325; 'fallender siechtag,' Hutten 5, 171. Otherwise: the *sorrow,* the *misery,* the *sore trouble,* the *evil being,* the *scourge,* the *weed* (Jul. Schmidt p. 136). M. Nethl. *vallende evel,* Mod. Nethl. *vallende ziekte, Sint Jans evel, grôt evel, gramschap Goods,* wrath of God, Huyd. op St. 1, 569. In Melander's Jocoser. 1, 434: 'may the *gnücken* touch you!' gnuk being LG. for knock. 'The *tropf* has touched him,' Erasm. Alberus 39, i.e. the stroke [apoplexy?]; M. Lat. *gutta, gutta cadiva,* O. Fr. la *goute:* 'cheent de *gote,*' Ren. 25203, brought on by holding the plompe (lotus, p. 654) in the hand. A particular species of the drop occurs under the name of *nesch* or *nesch-tropf.* Schmid's Swab. Dict. gives from a MS. *näsch* as hiccough, singultus, which (like sneezing, p. 1116) seems to have been regarded as a mild case of apoplexy; Popowitsch p. 511 quotes *noschen* as hiccough, and in OHG. we find *nescazan* as well as fnescazan, singultire, Graff 3, 782. I derive them all from the Goth. hnasqus

[1] Διὸς μάστιγξ, Il. 12, 37. 13, 812; but not meaning a disease.

mollis, delicatus, AS. hnesc [Engl. nesh, Sl. nèzhno], to which also belongs OHG. hnascôn, nascôn, our naschen, to have a sweet tooth. Mone's anz. 6, 463 pronounces nösch-tropf to be flying gout, and gives a *nösch-segen* (-charm): 'I command thee, *nösch*, with all thy fellows, for with thee are the *stech* and the *krampf*, *gespat*, *geschoss*, *geicht* and *gesicht*.' A further charm speaks of 77 nöschen: 'we will go into the man's house, and suck his blood and gnaw his bones and eat his flesh'; but they get conjured into a withered tree. A severer, longer ailment than hiccough seems to be meant; Mone connects nösch with 'nesso' in the OS. spell, but a LG. *ss* answers to a HG. *hs*, not to *sk*, *sch*; to me the connexion of the word with naschen, explain it how you will, seems indisputable: 'sô dich diu suht *benasche* (nibble at), daz dir hût und hâr abe gê!' skin and hair come off (see Suppl.).

Krampf, spasm, convulsion, in children usually *freise*, *freisig*, *gefrais*, Sup. I, 474. 722, *fräsel*, Jul. Schmidt p. 121. 137. *Schäuerchen*, LG. *schürken* (jumping toothache, tic douloureux), liter. little shiver, twitch. But *freis*, *frais* often stands for epilepsy too (Abele's Gerichtsh. 2, 429. 4, 218. 311).

Leib-weh, *grimmen* (krimmen, Nethl. krimpen), gripes, belly-ache; die obere *grimme*, *manns-mutter* (Wier 107ª); *hachmutter*, *bärmund*, *bärmutter*, Stald. 1, 136; 'the *bermutter* has bit me,' I have the colic, Schm. 1, 217; Austr. *bervater* and *bermutter* (Höfer 1, 77-8); *tvärmund*, Stald. 1, 334; *trîbe*, Fundgr. 321, 9 also means colic acc. to Hoffm.——*Ruhr* (dysentery), *durchlauf*, *darmgicht* (acc. to Gloss. Flor. 984ª) *ûzsuht*, Gl. Flor. 984ª *zuzsuht*; further, in Stald. *aussucht* (diarrh.). *Rothe ruhr* (bloody flux), 'der rothe schaden' (Anshelm 3, 236).

Lungensucht, AS. *lungenâdl* (pneumonia); '*schwinge-* oder lunge-sucht' in Schweinichen 2, 256 is surely for *schwinde-*? In Austria 'der *schwund*,' our *schwind-sucht* consumption; Abele's Gerichtsh. 2, 303 says it seizes an ell's length of gut every year.

Seiten-stechen (pleuritis), OHG. *stechido*; M. Nethl. *lanc-evel*, Rein. 5401. Huyd. op St. 1, 569, from lanc, Fr. flanc, OHG. lancha = ilia, lumbus, but I have not found an OHG. *lanch-upil* morbus ilium.

Wasser-sucht, dropsy. OHG. has also *wazar-chalp* (water-calf) hydrops, Diut. 2, 181. Mone 8, 494; conf. *mond-kalb* (mola,

caro in utero nascens), Melander's Joc. ii. no. 450, Engl. *mooncalf*, misbirth, about which there must be some floating mythical notions, for we also find a proper name *Sonnenkalb*, and aberkalb, afterkalb or eberkalb means an illegitimate child (see Suppl.).

For *abortus* we have misgeburt, fehlgeburt, miskram; verbs: to upset, tip over, spill, etc. 'zy heft de kar omgeworpen,' Tuinman's Spreekw. 1, 88; 'tis gone wrong with her, Schwein. 2, 314, conf. 321; not straight, Kantzow 2, 30; Dan. 'at giöre omslag'; of proper birth: to bring *to the* (right) *place*. Esth. tüyad nurgad (empty corners), mooncalf; 'ulle kätte minnema,' slip out of (miss) the hands, opp. to 'last pölwede peälet töstma,' get (lift) the child on the knee. We have: 'there's a row,' 'the house cracks' (the birth is near), 'the house has tumbled' (it is over), Sächs. prov. blätt. 14, 127; 'the oven breaks down,' Schm. 1, 33. In MHG. 'diu *kamer* wart entlochen,' unlocked, Mar. 46. *Bermutter*, which is used of colic, strictly denotes the hysterica passio, and is represented not only as a *toad*, Schm. 1, 188, but as a *mouse* that runs out of the body, and has a sword laid across the stream for it, Ettn. hebamme p. 194-5, as in the superstition described above, p. 1082 (see Suppl.).

Herz-gespan, tension of heart (cardialgia), herz-spann, Sup. I, 873. 949, otherwise herz-weh, herz-kulk (ventriculi colica): 'something lies and stands before my heart.' MHG. *herze-swer; swermage*, Diut. 2, 273. This is not the same thing as the *heartworm*, of which it is vulgarly supposed that every man has one in him, and would die if it crept out of his mouth (Ettn. hebamme p. 890), or got on his tongue, Chr. Weise's Drei klügste leute pp. 8. 9. The ancients called a swelling of the tongue *βάτραχος* and *rana*. The *heiss-hunger* (hot-), *βούλιμος*, appetitus caninus, was also accounted for by an animal: '*vermis lacertae similis* in stomacho hominis habitat,' Gl. Jun. 381. 'wir suln uns alle brœten, den *zadelwurm* tœten (kill) der uns dicke hât genâgen,' oft has gnawed us, Seifr. Helbl. 3, 247.

Headache, houbit-wê, Fundgr. 320-1; *houbit-suht*, Diut. 270; *farren*, Sup. I, 865. perh. the 'faren' of p. 1156. *Tobe-suht* (amentia), Iw. 3233, brain-sickness. *Wirbel-sucht*, vertigo, I, 436.

OHG. *huosto*, cough, MHG. *huoste*, our *huste* (in Zürich *wüeste*),

ON. *hôsti*, AS. *hwôsta*, Engl. *whoost*. A cold in the head: *schnupfe*, schnaube, schnuder, in Switz. *pfnüsel;* Hildegard has *nasebôz*, coryza. MHG. *strûche*, Fundgr. 321, 1. Ls. 1, 403-4. Hoarseness: *kramme*, Fdgr. 322. Catarrh: OHG. *tampho*, Graff 5, 142, *dumpho* in Hildeg. St. Anthony's fire (because healed in his hospitals?): *rothlauf*, in Switz. *wolken, fliegende wolke*, flying cloud, Stald. 2, 456 (see Suppl.).

Gelbsuht, elephantiasis in Gl. Mons. 384; our *gelbsucht* is the jaundice. 'To fasten *yellow smocks* on folk,' is that to conjure the jaundice into them? Gelesuht and *fich* are ficus morbus, piles, AS. *fîc-âdl;* in Altd. bl. 2, 199 'der rot *vich*' for hæmorrhoids; in Helbl. 2, 1190 'der rôte siechtuom und daz *vîc* macht iuch bleich unde gel.'——OHG. *misal-suht* (lepra), Graff 2, 875; Goth. *þruts-fill*, which in Gramm. 2, 20 I traced correctly to þriutan [to trouble, tease, our driessen, verdruss], and 2, 598 recognised þruts as anom. Gen. for þrutis. Þruts is torment, vexation, and applied to sickness, leprosy; the OHG. form would be *druzis-fel*. In Slavic languages *trud* is trouble and illness, the Boh. *trud* having exactly the two meanings of dolor and lepra, Pol. trąd eruption. OHG. *hriupî* (scabies), *rûda* (impetigo), Gl. Flor. 988ᵇ, *zittarlûs*, tetter-louse, ringworm (impetigo), Diut. I, 496ᵇ. A modern slang term is schneider-courage (Adelung v. krätze), schneider-kurzweil, tailor's pastime (Ettn. unw. doct. 349). The AS. *gicða* (scabies, impetigo), Engl. *itch*, is the OHG. *juchido*, Graff 1, 593. The *rose* (erysipelas), *running fire*, ignis sacer (Ivonis epist. p. 85ᵃ. 184ᵇ), OHG. *omo*, AS. *oma*, ON. *âma*. Of red spots on a child's face they say 'the Jüdel has burnt him,' Sup. I, 473. AS. *þeor, þeorweorc* is inflammation, *þeorwyrm* impetigo vermicularis [1] (see Suppl.).

Stone, gravel, calculorum dolor: in Götz. v. Berlich. 103, 'der reissende (tearing) stein.'

A sort of excrescence or fungus (suam) was called *mal-annus* (das übel jâr), Spell VII; in Ratherii opp. ed Ballerini p. 15: 'carbunculi vel malae pustulae, quem malum vulgo dicunt *malampnum*.' And the plant used in healing it bore the name of *malannus* too, OHG. *achalm*, Graff 1, 132 (see Suppl.).

[1] The Greeks too fancied the impetigo was caused by a small beetle. Pliny 27, 11 (75): lapis vulgaris juxta flumina fert muscum siccum, canum; hic fricatur altero lapide, addita hominis saliva; illo lapide tangitur impetigo. Qui tangit, dicit. φεύγετε, κανθαρίδες, λύκος ἄγριος ὄμμε διώκει, beetles begone, the wild wolf chases you.

Many other names of diseases I suppress; a still greater number must have eluded my research. My design was, out of this neglected mine of wealth in our language to bring specimens that should prove what mythical fancies the people associated with the origin of diseases. Like other evils, they seemed to be destined and devised by gods, spirits, magicians; nay, to become themselves malign living agents (p. 1153). Much remains obscure: what is meant by *ülfheit*, that plague of plagues (p. 442 n.)? what by the *haupt-geschein* which is exorcized in Ayrer's Fastn. sp. p. 148-9, and turns up in other stories too (Schm. 3, 366)? Now in Renner 12180 we find 'ir habt daz *houbt-geschîde*' (rh. vermîde), meaning apparently folly, infatuation. If 'head-sheen' be right, I would explain it by the OHG. houbet-skîmo (capitis radii), N. Cap. 63: for it is an ailment that throws a nimbus or nebula round one's head, and makes one see everything double; H. Sachs names it 'der *plerr, augenplerr,*' ii. 2, 27[b]. iii. 3, 9[d]. iv. 3, 13[a.b], and we still say 'die *blerr* kriegen,' to be lost in amazement [blurred?]. Eating chervil is supposed to produce this doubleness of vision, Fragm. 37[b.c]. Garg. 148[a].

A Finnic song makes an old woman, Launawatar (Schröter p. 48 seq.) or Louhiatar (Kalev. 25, 107) become the mother of nine sons (like the nine holden above): werewolf, snake, risi (?), lizard, nightmare, joint-ache, gout, spleen, gripes. These maladies then are brothers of baneful monsters; and in the song the last-named disorder is singled out for exorcism.

The Mod. Greeks picture the *smallpox* as a woman frightful to children, and euphemistically name her *συγχωρεμένη* indulgent, exorable (conf. ON. Eir), or more commonly *εὐλογία* one to be praised and blest (Fauriel's Disc. prél. lxxxv).

One more disease has to be noticed, which from quite the early part of the Mid. Ages was ascribed to demonic diabolic agency. I begin with a passage in the Vita Caesarii Arelatensis (d. 542), said to have been written by his pupils Cyprianus, Messianus and Stephanus, lib. 2 cap. 14 (Acta Bened. sec. 1, p. 673): 'Ille autem, quid infirmitatis haberet? interrogavit. Dixerunt, *daemonium* quod rustici *Dianam* appellant; quae sic affligitur, ut paene omnibus noctibus *assidue caedatur*, et saepe etiam in ecclesiam ducitur inter duos viros ut maneat, et sic *flagris diabolicis* occulte fatigatur, ut vox continua ejus audiatur. . . .

Oculis meis vidi plagas, quas ante aliquos dies in dorsum et in scapulas acceperat, in sanitatem venire, pridianas autem et in ipsa nocte impressas recentes inter illas intextas, quas prius perpessa fuerat.'——Greg. Tur. mir. 5, Mart. 4, 36: 'Cum *de cultura rediret*, subito inter manus delapsa comitantium terrae corruit, ligataque lingua nullum verbum ex ore potens proferre, obmutuit. Interea accedentibus accolis ac dicentibus eam *meridiani daemonis* incursum pati, ligamina herbarum atque incantationum verba proferebant.'——Ducange has other passages sub v. *daemon meridianus;* the name seems to have arisen out of Ps. 91, 6, where Notker translates 'mittetagigo tiefel,' whom Greek writers also call *μεσημβρινὸς δαίμων*: the disease must have been of an epileptic nature. The Bohemians name it *polednice* (meridiana), but the Poles *Dziewanna* (p. 993n.), which is *Diana* again, and as Diana often means the same thing as *Holda*, it is essential to remember that this goddess also loves to appear *at the hour of noon* (Praetor. weltbeschr. 1, 476), and that *white ladies* are seen at the same season (p. 963-4-6), whose original is *Berhta* the bright. So that the malady can safely be traced to the operation of deities and elves. That here Holda and Berhta do strike in, has already been inferred on other grounds, p. 477-8, in speaking of the *aunt in the rye*, the *woman in the wheat*, who passes through the corn at noontide, like the Wendic *pshi-polnitsa:* some call her *pshi-polontsa*, she appears between 12 and 1 to labourers in heathy districts, especially to women weeding flax, she is clothed in white, and talks of flax-raising, how it is planted, reared, worked and spun; she is said to have wrung the necks of women that would not answer her; the people dread her, and are glad she has not shown herself this long while past. Observe, that in Gregory too the demon appeared to the woman at her field labour, and she falls to the ground, as the Russian peasants do before the 'weeping widow' who breaks their bones: in Gaul it was taken for a mental disorder. But in all these shapes of terror we cannot fail to recognise the motherly divinity of the heathens.

Of course, spirits have equally to do with animal diseases. An OS. formula adjures the *nesso* and his *nine young ones* to depart out of the flesh and skin of the spur-lamed horse. Dog's madness is said to come of a *worm* seated under the tongue, and this 'tollwurm' can be cut out. One ailment of horses is called the

blowing worm (Spell XV), which reminds of the blowing holden, p. 1157. Another, of horses or of oxen, is the *hünsche:* Stald. 2, 61 makes it burning of the spleen or cold tumour, otherwise called 'the evil wind,' Tobl. p. 70; in Lower Hesse it is swollen udder in a cow, and the charm there muttered against it is:

Die *hünsche* und der drache (dragon)
die giengen über die bache (beck);
die *hünsche* die vertrank (was drowned, al. verschwank vanished),
der drache der versank.

A charm in Mone's Anz. 465 begins: 'there went three blessed virgins over a *hüntschen* hill, the *hüntschen* meets them, and one says, here is the *hüntsche.*' Certainly the word seems to contain the OHG. adj. hûnisc, MHG. hiunisch, and may refer to giants or to Huns (p. 523); the 'hünische berg' tells in favour of the first, in case a giant's mount is meant. Adelung writes 'der *hintsch,*' and explains it as asthma. A LG. formula substitutes for hünsche *slîe,* i.e. schleihe, tench (see Suppl.). In popular belief a witch can charm her elves or holden alike into man and beast. The Servians call an incurable disease in sheep *metil.* They say, once the Germans having caught the Devil, asked him what was a cure for the metil? He answered, when all the sheep were dead but one, they must carry the remaining one round the pen, and then no more would die but that one (Vuk sub v.). In other cases the first head of cattle that falls is to be buried, and a *willow shoot* be planted on the mound.

As the several diseases and plagues were ordained and sent by gods or daemons, there were also special *remedies* and *cures* that proceeded from such higher beings first of all. In the Catholic superstition of the later Mid. Ages there had grown up a regular system, as to which particular saint, male or female, was to be invoked for the several pains and sorrows of almost every limb in the body[1] (see Suppl.).

Out of a mass of superstitious *modes of healing,* I select the following.

A very ancient custom was, to *measure* the patient, partly by

[1] Haupt's Zeitschr. 1, 143-4. Roquefort sub v. mal.

way of cure, partly to ascertain if the malady were growing or abating. We might even quote the Bible under this head, 1 Kgs 17, 21. 2 Kgs 4, 34, where Elijah and Elisha *measure* themselves over the lifeless child, and thereby restore him to life. And the practice of *measuring the limbs* when handing tapers up to the altar (Diut. 2, 292) is worth considering, though it is supposed rather to keep away coming evils. In the Bîhtebuoch p. 46 the question is asked: 'ob dû ie geloubetôst an hecse und an lâchenerin und an segenerin, und ob dû tæte daz si dir rieten (got them to advise thee)? und ob dû ie gesegnet oder gelâchent wurde oder *gemezen* wurde, und ob dû ie bekort wurde?' In Ls. 3, 9 a woman, wishing to fool her husband, says: 'tuo dich her, *lâ dich mezzen*,' come and be measured; then 'alsô lang ich in *maz*, unz er allez vergaz,' I measured him till he forgot everything. Another, who wants to persuade her husband that he is 'niht guoter sinne,' not of sound mind, says to him, Cod. kolocz. 141:

'Sô habt her, und *lât iuch mezzen*,
ob ihtes (aught) an iu sî vergezzen.'
Sie was ungetriuwe,
sie nam ir rîsen (rods) niuwe,
sie *maz in nâch der lenge*,
dô was ez im ze enge,
sie *maz im twerhes* (across) *über houpt*:
'swaz ich spriche, daz geloupt,
blâset dar durch (blow thro' these) mit gewalt,'
sie nam die rîsen zwîvalt,
'und tret mir ûf den rehten fuoz,
sô wirt iu iuwer sühte buoz ('twill boot your sickness);
ir sult iuch in daz bette legen
und sult iuch niergen regen (not stir),
biz daz ir derhitzet (till you get warm)
und ein wênc (a little) erswitzet,
sô ezzet drithalp rockenkorn (2½ grains of rye),
sô wirt iuwer suht gar verlorn.'

Renn. 12183: 'strecket iuch nider, und *lât iuch mezzen*.' This *measuring* is also quoted among sorceries (Sup. D, 38 r. 140 r.).

Pregnant women *measure* a *wick* the length of the saint's image, and tie it round their body (F, 31). Wier's Arzneibuch p. 31-3 mentions a disease called in the Treves country *nacht-grif* (brought on by the grip of a night-spirit?); to ascertain its presence, you proceed thus: draw the sick man's belt about his naked body, lengthwise and breadthwise, then take it off, and hang it on a nail with the words 'O God, I pray thee by the three virgins Margarita, Mariamagdalena and Ursula, be pleased to vouchsafe a sign upon the sick man, if he have the *nightgrip* or no'; then *measure again*, and if the belt be shorter than before, it is a sign of the said sickness. By the Schles. prov. bl. 1798. 27, 16—20, scarce a village in the Liegnitz country but has its *messerin*, always an old woman. When she is asked to say whether a person is in danger from consumption, she takes a thread and *measures* the patient, first from head to heel, then from tip to tip of the outspread arms; if his length be less than his breadth, then he is consumptive: the less the thread will measure his arms, the farther has the disease advanced (conf. p. 1158); if it reaches only to the elbow, there is no hope for him. The *measuring* is repeated from time to time: if the thread stretches, and reaches its due length again, the danger is removed. The wise woman must never ask money for her trouble, but take what is given. The Märk. forschungen 1, 247 says a woman is stript, and *measured* with a piece of *red yarn* spun on a Sunday. Compare the *measuring* of corn and water, Sup. I, 258. 953, and supra p. 491-7 (see Suppl.).

Much can be done by *stroking* and *binding*. A patient's body is commonly stroked with the hand or sleeve or the back of a knife; often a thread is also *tied* round the part affected, or the medicine tied on by it. Of this binding more hereafter.

In Poland, when the white folk (białe ludzie, p. 1157) torment a sick man, a bed of pease-halm is made, a sheet spread over it, and the patient laid thereon; then a person walks round him, carrying a *sieve-ful of ashes* on his back, letting the ashes run out, till the floor all round the bed is covered with them. The first thing in the morning they *count* all the *lines in the ashes*, and some one goes silently, greeting no one on the way, and reports the same to the wise woman, who prescribes accordingly (Biester's Mon. schr. as above). The spirits leave their tracks in

fully swathed up. If the part coalesced and soldered together, as usually fell out where the feat was performed with any adroitness at all, the party was cured; but where the cleft continued to gape, the operation, it was supposed, would prove ineffectual. We have several persons now living in the village, who in their childhood were supposed to be healed by this superstitious ceremony, derived down perhaps from our Saxon ancestors, who practised it before their conversion to christianity. ——At the south corner of the area near the church, there stood about twenty years ago a very old grotesque hollow *pollard-ash*, which for ages had been looked on with no small veneration as a *shrew-ash*. Now a *shrew-ash* is an ash whose *twigs* or branches, when gently *applied to the limbs of cattle*, will immediately relieve the pains which a beast suffers from the *running of a shrewmouse* over the part affected. For it is supposed that a shrewmouse is of so baneful and deleterious a nature, that wherever it creeps over a beast, be it horse, cow or sheep, the suffering animal is afflicted with cruel anguish, and threatened with the loss of the use of the limb. Against this accident, to which they were continually liable, our provident forefathers always kept a *shrew-ash* at hand, which, when once medicated, would maintain its virtue for ever. A *shrew-ash* was made thus:[1] into the body of the tree a deep hole was bored with an auger, and a poor devoted *shrewmouse was thrust in alive and plugged in*, no doubt with several quaint incantations long since forgotten. As the ceremonies necessary for such a consecration are no longer understood, all succession is at an end, and no such tree is known to subsist in the manor or hundred. As to that on the area, the late vicar stubbed and burnt it when he was waywarden, regardless of the remonstrances of the bystanders, who interceded in vain for its preservation'[2] (see Suppl.).

[1] Bob. Plot's Nat. hist. of Staffordshire, Oxf. 1686. p. 222: 'A superstitious custom they have in this county, of making *nursrow trees* for the cure of unaccountable swellings in their cattle. For to make any tree, whether oak, ash or elm, a *nursrow tree*, they catch one or more of these nursrows or fieldmice, which they fancy bite their cattle and make them swell, and having bored a hole to the center in the body of the tree, they put the mice in, and then drive a peg in after them of the same wood, where they starving at last communicate forsooth such a virtue to the tree, that cattle thus swoln *being wiped with the boughs of it* presently recover: of which trees they have not so many neither, but that at some places they go 8 or 10 miles to procure this remedy.'

[2] White's Nat. hist. and antiq. of Selborne, Lond. 1789. 4, p. 202–4.

This superstition of the *mouse-ash* holds together with some things we have already touched upon. Thus, plugging the mouse in is very like shutting up one's ill-luck in the hollow oak, p. 878; and we are helped out by a statement in Luther's Table-talk (ed. 1571. fol. 53[b]): 'a hole is bored in a tree, the *soul* placed therein, and a plug driven in after, that it may stay in.' We know that on other occasions, when soul or spirit quits the body, it takes the shape of a *mouse*, p. 1082.

Raibiht is what the Lettons call a fancied cure for headache: the sufferer is *measured* a few times round the head with the inner bark of the lime, and then has to *crawl through this bast*. We also find that through *holes bored* in this healing tree water is poured and drunk.[1]

It partakes of angang, that the *first three corn* or *sloe blossoms* one sees in the year should furnish a remedy for fever, Sup. I, 695. 718. 784. 1018; conf. the 2½ grains of rye, p. 1164.

At the Vogelsberg gouty persons wear on the ring-finger of the right hand *iron rings* made out of *nails on which men have hung themselves*. Gout-charms are worn on the breast, wrapt in unbleached linen, with flaxen *threads without a knot*. Both fall under the head of amulets and adligatio. *Healing girdles* were already known to Marcellus, AS. hom. 2, 28.

Diseases and remedies are also *buried in the ground:* in the ant-hill, Sup. I, 864. Of this class is a cure of epilepsy performed in the 10th cent. by burying peachblossoms, which Ratherius in Praeloquiis lib. 1 (ed. Mart. et Dur. p. 808. ed. Baller. p. 31) relates doubtingly: Factum sit, infectum sit, narratum est quod refero. Cujusdam divitis filius *gutta* quam *cadivam* dicunt laborabat. Medicorum omne probatissimorum erga eum inefficax ingenium ad desperationem salutis paternum atque maternum deduxerat animum, cum ecce unus servorum suggerit, ut flores arboris persicae optime mundatos primo lunis

[1] Physica Hildegardis 3, 10 de cupresso: Quod si aliquis homo a diabulo vel per magica irretitus est, praefatum lignum, quod *cor* dicitur, *cum terebro perforet*, et in fictili vase aquam vivi fontis tollat, et eam *per idem foramen* in aliud fictile vas fundat, et cum jam infundit dicat: 'ego fundo te, aqua, per foramen istud in virtuosa virtute, quae Deus est, ut cum fortitudine quae tibi adest in natura tua fluas in hominem istum qui in sensu suo irretitus est, et omnes contrarietates in eo destruas, et eum in rectitudinem in quam Deus eum posuit, in recto sensu et scientia reponas.' Et aquam istam per novem dies jejunus bibat, et etiam tociens hoc modo benedicatur, et melius habebit.

(i.e. lunae) die Aprilis mensis in vase vitreo colligerent, quod *sub radice ejusdem arboris, insciis omnibus,* ab uno quo vellent *suffoderetur,* eodem die reversuro ipso a quo positum est, anno vergente, si fieri posset hora quoque eadem, et effosso vase *flores in oleum conversos, arborem siccatam* inventuro, quod sub altare positum presbytero quoque ignorante, *novem missis* super eo celebratis sanctificaretur, et statim post accessum ejusdem morbi *novem vicibus* in haustum diatim scilicet aegro daretur, cum oratione Dominica, ita duntaxat ut post 'libera nos a malo' a dante diceretur 'libera Deus istum hominem (nomine ill.) a gutta cadiva,' et quibus novem diebus missam quotidie audiret, azymum panem cibumque quadragesimalem post jejunium caperet, atque ita Deo miserante convalesceret. Si tamen factum est, ille convaluit, servus emancipatus est, etiam heres adscriptus, medicina ab innumeris adprobata multis quoque salutis contulit remedia.

The elder-tree is good for toothache and ague: for the former the sufferer *sticks an elder-branch into the ground* with the words 'begone, bad spirit'; in the case of ague he puts it in without saying a word, but his fever sticks to the elder, and then fastens on the first person who comes to the spot unawares, Dan. Sup. K, 162. Specially wholesome is an elder that grows over bee-hives (op bjintjekoven); the bast is peeled off *upwards* (not down), and a decoction of it is given the patient to drink (Lapekoer fen Gabe scrôar. p. 31-2).

It is worth noticing how the sickness is *transferred to a tree,* i.e. to the spirit who inhabits it. Spell no. xxvi begins with the words: '*bough, I bend thee,* so fever leave me'; another has: '*Lift thee up, elder bough! Antony's fire,* sit on it now! I've had thee a day, thou have it alway!' One that has the gout must go three successive Fridays after sunset under a *firtree*: 'firtree, I complain to thee, the gout torments me sore, etc.'; the fir withers, and the gout leaves off. 'Deus vos salvet, *sambuce,* panem et sal ego vobis adduco, febrem tertianam et quotidianam *accipiatis vos,* qui nolo eam.' Westendorp p. 518 reports a Nethl. custom: to be rid of ague, one goes early in the morning (in der uchte) to an old willow, *ties three knots in a bough,* and says to it: 'goe morgen, *olde,* ik geef oe de kolde, goe morgen, *olde!*' then he turns, and runs away fast without looking round. Sup. I, 1074: he that has 'fever-frost' shall go in silence, and

across no water, to a *hollowed willow, thrice breathe his breath into it, quickly block up the hole,* and hasten home, neither looking behind nor speaking a word; and the fever shall keep away. In Spell xliv the gout is *handed over* to a young pinetree with a courteous 'good morrow, *dame Pine!*'

Diseases can likewise be transferred *to animals.* 'Praecordia vocamus uno nomine exta in homine, quorum in dolore cujuscunque partis si *catulus lactens* admoveatur apprimaturque his partibus, *transire in eum morbus* dicitur, idque in exenterato perfusoque vino deprehendi, vitiato viscere illo quod doluerit hominis; et *obrui tales religio est,*' Pliny 30, 4 [14]. 'Sunt occulti interaneorum morbi, de quibus mirum proditur: si *catuli, priusquam videant,* applicentur triduo stomacho maxime ac pectori, et ex ore aegri suctum lactis accipiant, *transire vim morbi,* postremo exanimari, dissectisque palam fieri aegri causas; mori et humari debere eos *obrutos terra*...Quod praeterea traditur in torminibus mirum est: *anate* apposita ventri, *transire morbum,* anatemque emori,' 30, 7 [20]. So, even within the last few centuries, people have put *young whelps* to the human breast, and let them suck. That a corn (clavus, ἦλος) should be called by us *hen's eye* (Boh. kuřj oko), *magpie's eye* (Nethl. exter-ôg), and *crow's eye,* arose out of a belief in the possibility of these transfers. Tobler 18[b] tells us, if a Swiss calls out on the spot where a magpie has sat, 'zigi, zigi, *ägest,* i ha dreu auga (I've 3 eyes), ond du gad zwä,' he gets rid of his magpie's eye.

The flying gout is cured by the patient being *completely swathed in clean flax:* when he lies in it snug as a bug in a rug, a *sheepskin* is spread over him, and the sweating medicine administered. This envelopment is a remedy renowned in the old Beast-fable. The lion taken with a fever is to *wrap himself in the hide of a wolf* of 3½ years who has been flayed alive, and to sweat; this we have already in the Aesopic fable (Reinh. cclx). Our old German poem goes more into minutiæ: the lion's illness was caused by an ant having crept into his brain; Reynard prescribes *wrapping the hide of an old wolf about* him, putting a *bearskin* on him, and a *catskin hat* on his head: when the cat's fur is warmed, the ant creeps out into it. Such wrapping in the newly stript hide of an animal was really practised in the Mid. Ages on various emergencies, for puny infants prematurely born,

for those cut out unborn (p. 388), for a bad fall. In a Nethl. comedy of the 16th century, 'De böse frouwens,' they sew up the sick woman in a page's skin, 'in eine *vriske pagenhut beneijen.*' Schmidt on the East Mongols p. 229 remarks, that these tribes also, to cure a disease, put their feet in the opened breast of a *horse fresh killed.* The application of warm flesh is several times mentioned: '*vivum gallinaceum pullum* per medium dividere, et protinus *calidum super vulnus* imponere sic ut pars interior corpori jungatur,' Celsus 5, 27; '*cut open a black hen,* and lay it *on the shaven* head,' Ettn. hebamme 795; *fresh-killed flesh* on a *wound,* Belg. mus. 7, 446 (see Suppl.).[1]

Again, the *hirzîn rieme,* hart-strap, cut out of Randolt's hide for the sick lion (Reinh. 1951), is found actually prescribed as a remedy, Bresl. MS. of the 14th century in Fundgr. 1, 325: 'Für daz vallende ubel. Du salt warten, swenne iz en an-ge (attacks him), so nim einen *hirzinen riemen,* unde bint im den umbe den hals (round his neck) di wile im we si, unde sprich, "In nomine, etc. so binde ich hie den sichthum dises menschen in disem knopfe," unde nim den selbem riemen denne, unde knupfe (tie) einen knoten dar an; den selben riemen sal man denne binden dem siechen umbe den hals; unde derselbe mensch sal sich enthalden (abstain) von dem wine unde von dem fleische, biz (till) daz er kume da (where) man einen toten man begrabe (burying), da sal man den riemen losen dem siechen von dem halse, unde sal den selben riemen begraben mit dem toten manne, wan der selbe rieme sal *dem toten geleget werden under die schulter* (laid under the dead man's shoulder), unde sal einer sprechen, der den riemen leget, etc. der sichthum gewirret im nimmer mere.' Elsewhere it is prescribed for epilepsy, to *gird oneself with a wolfskin,* Belg. mus. 6, 105 (see Suppl.).

The modern pharmacopœia is almost confined to vegetable and mineral medicines; the ancient comprised all manner of animal

[1] 'His diebus occulto Dei judicio idem Eraclius (episc. Leodiensis, d. 971) morbo, qui *lupus* dicitur, miserabiliter laborabat. Patiebatur autem in natibus, erat igitur videre miseriam; tam graviter enim vis valetudinis grassabatur, ut mirum in modum carnes viri lupino modo consumeret, corroderet, devoraret; solumque solatium, non quidem spes evadendae aegritudinis, sed saltem dilatio mortis erat, quod quotidie duo pulli gallinarum eplumes et eviscerati mane, duoque vespere, vice carnium viri consumendi morbo, ac si lupinae rabiei, apponebantur.' The chickens were fastened on with bandages, Chapeaville 1, 191–4. Skin inflammation and eating ulcers are called *wolf:* one walks, rides, till he gets the wolf, Lat. *intertrigo,* Gr. *παράτριμμα.* [Sheepskin proposed for Prince of Wales].

stuffs. The hearts of certain birds, the flesh, blood and fat of certain beasts possessed a peculiar healing power.[1] *Monkey's flesh* does the sick lion good (Reinh. cclx), though the ignorant wolf recommends that of the goat and ram.[2] The *blood* of birds and of the fox heals wounds, Pentam. 2, 5. *Crow's blood* bewitches, Sup. G, l. 202. *Blood* from the cock's comb, *brains* of the female hare are of service, Ettn. hebamme 875. Of a piece with this is the superstitious healing of leprosy by the *blood* of innocent boys and pure maids, that of the falling sickness by the *blood* of slain malefactors, Sup. I, 1080. *Spittle*, and even mere *breath*, are medicinal[3] (see Suppl.).

A great many appliances heal or hurt *by sympathy*. Thus jaundice is rendered incurable by a yellow-footed hen flying over the patient, Sup. I, 549; it is cured by looking into black carriage-grease (66). Spanning a pot or bowl with the hand brings on tension of the heart (11. 949); twisting osiers gives a wry neck or the gripes (373; conf. p. 1146). Fever is *abated* or *laid* by laying a field under flax while repeating a charm: as the seed comes up, the fever goes off (Höfer 3, 131). On rose or red rash (erysipelas) you are to strike sparks with stone and steel (I, 383. 710); to make evil bounce off your body, as water off the millwheel (p. 593); to break a loaf over the head of a tongue-tied child (I, 415); to knock a tooth that is pulled out into the bark of a young tree (630). The people have many such specifics for hiccough, earache, toothache, etc., I, 151. 211. 280. 581-4. 722. 950 (see Suppl.).

Remedies are very often *tied on*, are *worn fastened round the arm, neck, or waist*. These the writers of the early Mid. Ages call *ligamenta, ligaturae, phylacteria*. *Φυλακτήρια* are preservatives, protective pendants, amulets, often of thin metal plate (blech), so that OHG. glosses render them *pleh, plehhir*, but also of glass, wood, bones, herbs, silver and gold; *ligaturae* apparently mere ties of thread. The later word is *an-gehenke*,

[1] Wanley p. 75 (conf. 220) cites a 'tractatus Idparti fabulosus': Medicina ex quadrupedibus.

[2] 'Mit der *belchen* (fulicae atrae) füezen wirt dem man mazleide buoz,' Ls. 3, 564.

[3] Herodotus 2, 111 speaks of a blind man recovering sight *γυναικὸς οὔρῳ νιψάμενος τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, ἥτις παρὰ τὸν ἑωυτῆς ἄνδρα μοῦνον πεφοίτηκε, ἄλλων ἀνδρῶν ἔουσα ἄπειρος.*

appendage, I, 869. 870. Cipher-writing and runes were also appended, not always for healing, but contrariwise to bewitch and injure. Here are testimonies to both kinds: 'Ut clerici vel laici *phylacteria* vel *falsas scriptiones* aut *ligaturas*, quae imprudentes pro febribus aut aliis pestibus adjuvare putant, nullo modo ab illis vel a quoquam Christiano fiant, quia magicae artis insignia sunt,' Capitul. 6, 72. 'Admoneant sacerdotes non *ligaturas ossium* vel *herbarum* cuiquam adhibitas prodesse, sed haec esse laqueos et insidias antiqui hostis,' Capit. add. 3, 93. In Greg. Tur. mirac. 2, 45 we read of a sick boy to whom the wizard (ariolus) was fetched: 'Ille vero venire non differens, accessit ad aegrotum, et artem suam exercere conatur, incantationes immurmurat, sortes jactat, *ligaturas collo suspendit.*' In Lex Visig. vi. 2, 4: 'Qui in hominibus vel brutis animalibus, seu in agris seu in vineis diversisque arboribus, maleficium aut diversa *ligamenta* aut etiam *scripta* in contrarietatem alterius excogitaverit facere.' In Lex Sal. 22, 4: 'Si quis alteri aliquod maleficium superjactaverit, sive cum *ligaturis* in aliquod loco miserit.' The Indiculus (Sup. B; C int. 43 and p. 195[b]) speaks of such *ligaturae* and *nefaria ligamenta*, both healing and hurtful; Kopp's Palaeogr. 3, 74 seq. gives other passages on amulets and ligatures. Hincmar 1, 654 says: 'Turpe est fabulas nobis notas referre, et longum est sacrilegia computare, quae ex hujusmodi de *ossibus mortuorum* atque cineribus *carbonibusque* extinctis (supra p. 621) . . . cum *filulis colorum multiplicium*, et *herbis variis* ac cocleolis, et serpentum particulis composita, cum carminibus incantata deprehendentes comperimus.' These particoloured threads remind one of Virgil's verse: '*terna* tibi haec primum *triplici* diversa *colore* licia circumdo,' and 'necte tribus nodis *ternos*, Amarylli, *colores*' (Ecl. 8, 73-7).[1] If it was the Romans that taught our fathers the use of amulets, they must have done it very early, for what says Boniface? Epist. 51 (an. 742): 'Dicunt quoque se vidisse ibidem mulieres *pagano ritu phylacteria* et *ligaturas* in brachiis et cruribus ligatas habere, et publice ad vendendum venales ad com-

[1] Among the Lettons the bride on her way to church must throw a bunch of *coloured threads* and a coin into every ditch and pond she sees, and at each corner of the house, as an offering to the water and home sprites. Merkel's Letten, p. 50; conf. Sup. M, 11.

parandum aliis offerre.' And Beda 4, 27: 'Nam et multi . . . ad *erratica idolatriae medicamina* concurrebant, quasi missam a Deo conditore plagam per incantationes vel *phylacteria* . . . cohibere valerent.' A phylactery with relics from neck to breast in Sigeb. Gembl. 828. In Bonaventurae centiloq. 1, 29 (Opp. ed. Venet. 5, 130): 'Maleficium est peritia per quam mulieres faciunt aliquas *ligaturas* in damnum vel in commodum alicujus, ut de *crista galli* et de *rana* et de imagine cum eis.' Even Pliny 30, 1 [30] speaks of tying *beetles* on. The *füli-zant*, foal's tooth, Ms. 2, 160^{b} I have noticed p. 658n.; Pliny 28, 19 [78] alludes to this custom also: '*dentes qui equis primum cadunt* facilem dentitionem praestant *infantibus adalligati*.' The godfather mentioned with 'fülizant' is, I suppose, to put it round the godchild with his own hands? The tying-on of simples is treated more fully in the next chap. (see Suppl.).

Bewitching a newly-married couple was alluded to, pp. 1073-96. The witch, by merely *muttering* a spell during the wedding, if she be present, can incapacitate both husband and wife for having children. Hincmar 1, 654 relates a case, and states the composition of the material employed as a charm; on his statement is founded a passage in Gratian's decree ii. 33, 1 § 4. Such sorcery is named *tying the senkel* or *nestel, turning the lock, binding*, because it is accompanied by the secret tying of a knot or locking of a padlock.[1] *Nestel* means a tie (ligula); it is a *senkel* when the ends are tipped with metal, to make it sink faster. It is also called *tying up the breach*, tying the tippet or nether garment, Fr. *nouer l'aiguilette*. There are said to be fifty sorts of these ties, and a vast number of unintelligible *tie-spells*.[2] The lock when fastened, the knot when tied, was thrown away, not hung on the bewitched.

Many forms are observed in *pregnancy* and *childbirth*, Sup. I, 41. 176. 293. 337. 364. 489. 561. 654. 673-4. 688. 691. 702. 724—732. 817. 859. 924-5. 933. M, 12. 18—23. If the woman put her husband's *slippers* on, if on the wedding-day the bridegroom tie the bride's *garters*, she will have easy labours. Does this account for the custom, whose antiquity I shall presently prove, of the bride on the wedding-night *exchanging her shift* for the

[1] Antidotes in Ettn. hebamme p. 294-6. Wegner's Schauplatz p. 625 seq.
[2] Bodin, transl. by Fischart, p. 74-5. [Tie as many knots as one has warts, etc.]

bridegroom's shirt? Vintler says, Sup. G, l. 170: 'da sind dan etlich briute (some brides), die legent *ir hemd* an irs mannes ort (place).' More clearly in Turlin's Wh. 148: 'diu künigîn wart gebrîset in ein *hemede*;

als er dir sî gelegen bî (lain down beside thee),
und er dar nâch entslâfen sî (gone to sleep),
sô lege tougen (stealthily) *sîn hemede* an;
und ob dîn sin gesuochen kan (wit can contrive),
daz ez werde heimlich getân (be secretly done),
sich (see), daz dich iht verdrieze (fail not),
dîn hemde sîn houpt beslieze (envelop his head);
daz sol an dinem vlîze stên (depend on thy pains):
dar nâch soldu über in gên
an sîme hemde, daz wirt dir vromen (profit thee).

Among the Greeks a birth was forwarded or checked by superior divine beings, the *eileithyiai*, handmaids of Hera, who were gradually merged in a single *Eileithyia*, the Roman *Lucina*. In our Edda *Oddrûn* the sister of Atli has skill in childbirth, she posts over land to the expectant mother, flings the saddle off her steed and strides into the hall (Sæm. 239), kneels down before the maid, and speaks her charm. They spoke of '*kiôsa* mæðr frâ mögum' (exsolvere matres a pueris), Sæm. 187ᵇ, and gave the office to norns. There must have been from the earliest times sympathetic means of *delivering* and of *obstructing*, which are practised to this day: to cross the legs, to fold the hands before the woman in labour was obstructive, to leave loose or disengage was helpful; probably the energetic unsaddling of the steed had this meaning. Ovid's Met. 9, 298:

Dextroque a poplite laevum
pressa genu, *digitis* inter se *pectine junctis*
sustinuit nixus; tacita quoque carmina voce
dixit, et inceptos tenuerunt carmina partus.
Divam residentem vidit in ara,
brachiaque *in genibus digitis connexa* tenentem.
Exsiluit, junctasque manus pavefacta remisit
diva potens uteri: vinclis levor ipsa remissis.

'*Assidere* gravidis, vel cum remedium alicui adhibeatur, *digitis pectinatim inter se implexis* veneficium est, idque compertum tradunt Alcmena Herculem pariente. Pejus si *circa unum ambove genua;* item poplites alternis genibus imponi,' Pliny 28, 6 [17]. 'Ferunt *difficiles partus* statim *solvi*, si quis tectum in quo sit gravida transmiserit *lapide* vel *missili* ex his qui tria animalia singulis ictibus interfecerint, hominem, aprum, ursum. Probabilius id facit hasta velitaris, evulsa e corpore hominis, si terram non attigerit,' 28, 4 [6], (see Suppl.).

A *poisoning* case was sometimes met by forcible remedies: the man was hung up by the heels, and after a time one of his eyes pulled out, in hopes of the venom oozing out at that aperture: 'tamen intoxicatus Albertus in Austria, et diu per pedes suspensus, oculum perdens evasit,' Alb. Argent. (ed. Basil. 1569) p. 167 (see Suppl.).

Water, springs, fire (pp. 1166. 1173) have power to preserve health or restore it (pp. 586-8. 605-6. 618-9. 621—4); especially a *spring* that has burst out of the rock at the bidding of a god or saint. The *snake* that lies coiled round the holywell, or is seen beside it (p. 585-8n.), may be likened to the serpent-rod of Aesculapius. Healing water or oil trickles out of rocks and walls. The mother that was walled in (p. 1143) continued for a time to nourish her babe through a hole in the wall, till at last she died. At that hole there is a *continual dropping*, women whose *milk has run dry* go there to get healed: the mother's milk had streamed so long that it sets other breasts flowing too. I know of a similar story in Italy: 'est quoque non procul ab hoc oppido (Verona), in valle quadam Policella dicta, locus Negarina nomine, ubi *saxum* durissimum visitur, in quo *mammae* ad justam muliebrium formam sculptae sunt, *ex quarum papillis perpetuae stillant aquae*, quibus si lactans mulier papillas asperserit et laverit, exsiccatus aliquo (ut fit) vel morbo vel alio casu illi *lacteus humor* revocatur,' Hentzneri itinerar. p. 201. A rock which drops milk is mentioned in Fel. Faber's Evagator. 1, 449; and the Lith. *Laumês papas* (teat) is the name of a hard stone.

To the *tombs of saints* a direct healing power was ascribed in the Mid. Ages, everything in contact with them brought help, even a draught of the water poured over bones, garments, splinters and earth. Turf and dew off the grave can heal (Greg.

Tur. vitæ patr. 6, 7).[1] Beda 3, 9 tells of St. Oswald: 'In loco ubi pro patria dimicans a paganis interfectus est, usque hodie *sanitates infirmorum et hominum et pecorum* celebrari non desinunt. Unde contigit ut *pulverem ipsum*, ubi corpus ejus in terram corruit, multi auferentes et *in aquam mittentes* suis per haec infirmis multum commodi afferrent: qui videlicet mos adeo increbuit, ut paulatim ablata exinde terra fossam ad mensuram staturae virilis reddiderit.' 3, 11: 'De *pulvere* pavimenti in quo aqua lavacri illius effusa est, multi jam *sanati infirmi*.' 3, 13: 'Habeo quidem de *ligno* in quo caput ejus occisi a paganis infixum est . . . tunc benedixi aquam, et *astulam roboris praefati* immittens obtuli aegro potandam: nec mora, melius habere coepit.' 4, 3 of St. Ceadda (d. 672): 'Est autem locus idem sepulcri tumba in modum domunculi facta coopertus, habente foramen in pariete, per quod solent hi qui causa devotionis illo adveniunt manum suam immittere, ac *partem pulveris* inde assumere, quam cum *in aquas miserint* atque has infirmantibus jumentis sive hominibus gustandas dederint, mox infirmitatis ablata molestia, cupitae sanitatis gaudia redibunt.' 4, 61 of Earconwald: 'Etenim usque hodie *feretrum* ejus caballarium, quo infirmus vehi solebat, servatum a discipulis ejus, multos *febricitantes* vel alio quolibet incommodo fessos *sanare* non destitit. Non solum autem *suppositi eidem feretro* vel *appositi* curantur aegroti, sed et *astulae de illo abscissae* atque ad infirmos allatae citam illis solent afferre medelam.'——Relics not only heal, but bring fortune, peace and fruitfulness, pretty much as the jewels of elves and dwarfs did in particular families: 'ubicunque hae reliquiae fuerint, illic *pax* et *augmentum* et *lenitas aëris* semper erit' (Pertz 1, 71).[2]

[1] Greg. Tur. mirac. 1, 21 takes from Eusebius 7, 18 the tale of a metal image of the Saviour and the woman of Cæsarea, whose issue of blood was stanched: 'Hujus ad pedem statuae in basi herba quaedam nova specie nascitur. quae cum exorta fuerit, *crescere usque ad stolae illius aereae indumenti fimbriam* solet. *quam cum* summo vertice crescens herba *contigerit*, vires inde ad *depellendos omnes morbos* languoresque conquirit; ita ut quaecunque fuerit illa infirmitas corporis, haustu exiguo madefacta salutaris graminis depellatur; nihil omnino virium gerens, si antequam aereae fimbriae summitatem crescendo contigerit, decerpatur. hanc statuam ad similitudinem vultus Jesu tradebant, quae permansit etiam ad nostra (Eusebii) usque tempora, sicut ipsi oculis nostris inspeximus.'—The beautiful myth is also copied by Agobardus (Opp. ed. Baluze, Par. 1666. 2, 248-9). It was essential for the plant to have grown up to the hem of the garment, it was only by touching it that it acquired healing efficacy.

[2] Les reliques sunt forz, Deus i fait grant vertuz,
iloc juit un contrait, set anz out ke ne se mut,

The legends are full of the marvellous deliverances vouchsafed to pilgrim patients at the tombs of saints. An incredible number of sick had recourse to this method; but it is cleverly parodied in our Beast-apologue (Reinh. pp. cv. cxxvi): the hare with his fever, the wolf with his earache, are cured the moment they lie down on the grave of the martyred hen. From such delusion the heathens were free: I nowhere find it stated that they sought healing from relics or at the mounds of their kings and giants. They resorted however to *sacred woods*, p. 72-4 (see Suppl.).[1]

In Greece, particularly in Bœotia, it was customary for patients, *on recovery*, to set up in the temple a metal model of the part of the body which had been affected. Amongst *ἀναθήματα* an inscription mentions *πρόσωπον, τιτθός, αἰδοῖον, χείρ*, &c.;[2] these votive offerings were afterwards melted down to make sacred vessels. The custom of votive tablets with limbs depicted on them may indeed have been imported into Germany by the Romans while yet heathens, unless we will admit that our fathers themselves had known them before. The passage from Gregory given p. 81 says expressly: '*membra*, secundum quod unumquemque dolor attigisset, *sculpebat in ligno*,' and further on, 'visi enim in eo barbari gentili superstitione, modo auri argentique dona, modo fercula ad potum vomitumque ebrii offerre, cultumque quo nihil insanius, istic simulacrum inanis dei, ac ut quemque *affecti membri dolor presserat, sculpebat in ligno suspendebatque* opitulaturo idolo.' This was done in Ripuaria in the 6th cent. Eligius refers to the same thing, Sup. A: '*pedum similitudines*, quos *per bivia* ponunt, fieri vetate, et ubi invenerit igni cremate; per nullam aliam artem salvari vos credatis nisi per invocationem et crucem Christi!' and the Indiculus § 29, 'de *ligneis pedibus*

tut li os li crussirent, li ners li sunt estendut:
ore sailt sus en peez, unkes plus sain ne fud. Rom. de Charlem. 192—5.

Les reliques sunt forz, granz vertuz i fait Deus,
que il ne venent a ewe, nen partissent les guet,
nencuntret aveogle ki ne seit reluminet,
les cuntrez i redrescent, e les muz funt parler. 255–8.

[1] The origin of relic-worship I shall investigate in another place.

[2] Corp. inscript. 1, 750 no. 1570, where Böckh says: 'Donaria medicationis causa Amphiarao oblata, qui ex oraculo per somnium dato restituti in sanitatem erant, ii partim *membri quo laborarant effigiem* dicabant (p. 474 no. 497-8), partim alia donaria, quemadmodum etiam in fontem Amphiarai dejicere nummos solebant.' Conf. Pausan. 1, 3.

vel *manibus* pagano ritu'; a woman with a palsied arm is admonished *in a dream* 'ut instar semivivae *manum ceream* formando exprimeret, et ad sanctae Idae tumulum deferret' (begin. of 10th cent., Pertz 2, 573). At the same time even these authorities teach us an important distinction: the Greek brought his *ἀνάθημα* out of gratitude, when the malady was healed; the German hung up the limb in the temple or at the cross-roads, with a view to obtain relief thereby, '*opitulaturo* idolo,' and 'per nullam aliam artem *salvari* vos credatis.' And for this purpose a *wooden* or perhaps *waxen* image sufficed, which would have been a paltry present to the succouring deity; conf. another passage from Gregory in my RA. 674, and Ruinart's note thereon. So that this German heathenry is of a piece with the sorcery by wax images (p. 1091), and with heathen sacrifices, which kept up an analogy between the thing prayed for and the thing offered: those who wished for children presented a *child of wax, wood* or *silver*, while conversely a figure of wax or silver served as penance for slaying the body. But what shocked the early teachers as sheer paganism was afterwards humoured and licensed by the church. A votive tablet at Alt-öttingen represents an unhappy man with an arrow passing through his eyebrow into the eye-pupil (Schm. 1, 242).[1] At places famed for pilgrimages we find hands, feet, etc. of wood or wax fastened to the walls; outside the church were *hung up* the *crutches* on which the sick had come, and which they needed no longer in going away healed: 'ut incredibilis materies *scabellorum* atque *oscillorum* post perceptam sanitatem a redeuntibus ibi remaneret,' Acta Bened. sec. v, p. 102; conf. Pertz 2, 574. Among the Greeks the sick often slept in the temple of the deity in whom they put their trust, and received *in a dream* instructions as to cure;[2] much the same occurs in medieval legends, e.g. that passage in the Life of St. Ida. Put together with this the first dream in a new house or stable, p. 1146 (see Suppl.).

There were superstitious signs, by observing which you could

[1] Diseases also were hung up pictorially: thus, before miraculous images in Bavaria and Austria, among the waxen hands and feet you may see a crab- or toad-like figure, understood to be the 'ber-mutter' that crawled about in the body, Schm. 1, 188. Höfer 1, 78. Wolf's Deutsche sagen p. 491.

[2] Jac. Phil. Tomasini de donariis ac tabellis votivis, Patavii 1654, 4, cap. 34, p. 214—26 vota pro aegrotantium salute.

tell whether one dangerously ill would fall a prey or get well: the cries, the flight, the wheeling of birds have been noticed on p. 1135. Burchardt (Sup. C, 195[d]) instances the lifting up of stones to see if any live beast were underneath; which is like snatching up a handful of earth and looking for a living creature in it (F, 9). The look of the bird Galadrôt, and the position of Death, whether at the patient's head or feet (p. 853) were significant omens. That *standing at the feet* was an advantage we find already in Pliny 30, 10 [24]: 'Eundem (ricinum, tick) in augurio vitalium habent: nam si aeger ei respondeat qui intulerit, *a pedibus stanti* interrogantique de morbo, spem vitae certam esse: moriturum nihil respondere. Adjiciunt, ut evellatur (ricinus) ex aure laeva canis cui non sit alius quam niger color.' ——It is believed in Scotland to this day, that if you cannot see the mannikin in the sick man's eye, he is sure to die: the bystander's image is no longer mirrored in the lustreless pupil of the breaking eye. And as far back as the AS. dialogue between Adrian and Ritheus (Thorpe p. 48): 'Saga me, on hwâm mæig man geseon mannes deáð? Ic þe secge, twege *manlîcan* beoð *on mannes eágum*: gif þû þâ ne gesihst, þonne swilt (dies) se man, and bið gewiten (gone) ær þrim dagum.' Put by the side of this, that the *κόρη* is not to be seen in a bewitched man's eyes either, and in a witch's eye it is seen upside down, or double (pp. 1074-80). When a dying man cannot get his release, a *shingle* of the roof is to be *turned* (Sup. I, 439), three *tiles taken up* (721), or any hollow house-utensil *inverted* (664). The like means are adopted in convulsions (853) and childbirth (561): 'if it go hard with her in travail, the husband shall *take three shingles out of the roof*, and put them in again wrong side up,' Ettn. hebamme p. 663; conf. supra p. 1116.

I have kept to the last what I had to say of the *plague* and the numerous traditions based on its appearing. After great floods, when heavy fog and sultry mist poison the air, it suddenly breaks out and spreads resistless over the earth.

To the Gr. λοιμός (p. 888) correspond, in gender as well, our OHG. *sterpo, scelmo* (MHG. schelme), Gl. jun. 219 *scalmo*, fihusterbo, ON. *skelmis-drep* or *drep* alone; OHG. *wuol*, Diut. 1,

501[a], AS. *wôl*, gen. wôles. The Latin names *pestis*, *lues* are fem., so are the Serv. *kuga*, *moriya*; but masc. again the Boh. Pol. *mor*, Lith. *maras*, Lett. *mehris*. The Serv. Slov. kuga is the M. Nethl. *koghe* (Detmar 1, 81. 113. 127. 148. 377), and even a MHG. poem (Meyer and Mooyer, p. 46[a]) has *koge*. MHG. usually 'der *gâhe tôt*,' swift death, Wigal. 3726 (Nethl. *gâ-dôt*, Maerl. 1, 230. 293); but also 'der *grosse tôd*,' great death, Swed. *diger-döden* (ON. digr crassus, tumidus); ON. *svarti dauði*, Dan. 'den *sorte död*,' black death, perhaps even in allusion to *Surtr* (p. 809).[1]

To the Greeks the whizzing shafts of wrathful *Apollo* brought the plague: a man dying suddenly is slain by *Apollo's* artillery, a woman by that of *Artemis*; conf. the *destroying angel*, 2 Sam. 24, 16. *Hermes*, protector of the flock, carries round it the *ram*, to ward off murrain; afterwards he *carries it round the city* also, Κριοφόρος.[2] Virgins were sacrificed to stay the ravages of pestilence. Pliny 26, 9 [60] says a maiden can cure boils (panos) by laying verbascum on them: Experti affirmavere plurimum referre, si virgo imponat nuda, jejuna jejuno, et manu supina tangens dicat, 'Negat *Apollo pestem posse crescere*, cui *nuda virgo restinguat!*' atque retrorsa manu ter dicat, totiesque despuant ambo. The ceremony was transferred from the heavy scourge to lighter ones: the disrobing of the maiden was required for allaying drought (p. 593-4), and in many other cases (see Suppl.).

That *angel of death* means Death himself, who comes to gather his own. A Lombard legend speaks of two angels, a good and a bad, who traverse the land: 'Pari etiam modo haec pestilentia Ticinum quoque depopulata est, ita ut cunctis civibus per juga montium seu per diversa loca fugientibus, in foro et per plateas civitatis herbae et fructeta nascerentur. Tuncque visibiliter multis apparuit, quia *bonus* et *malus angelus noctu per civitatem pergerent*, et ex jussu boni angeli malus angelus, qui videbatur venabulum manu ferre, *quotiens de venabulo ostium cujuscunque*

[1] Paul. Diac. 2, 4, paints a desolating plague in colours that recall the vivid picture Boccaccio has sketched by way of Introd. to his Decameron. How Sweden and Norway were wasted during the Great Plague, is described in Afzelius 4, 179. 180 and especially in Faye, pp. 135—148, after beautiful folk-tales.

[2] 'Massilienses quoties pestilentia laborabant, *unus se ex pauperioribus offerebat* alendus anno integro publicis et purioribus cibis. Hic postea ornatus verbenis et vestibus sacris *circumducebatur per totam civitatem* cum exsecrationibus, ut in ipsum reciderent mala civitatis, et sic projiciebatur,' Petron. cap. 141.

domus percussisset, tot de eadem domo die sequenti homines interirent. Tunc per revelationem cuidam dictum est, quod pestis ipsa prius non quiësceret quam in basilica beati Petri, quae ad vincula dicitur, sancti Sebastiani martyris altarium poneretur. Factum est, et delatis ab urbe Roma b. Sebastiani reliquiis, mox ut in jam dicta basilica altarium constitutum est, *pestis ipsa quievit,*' Paul. Diac. 6, 5. In the year 589, when the Tiber had overflowed, and a plague had arisen which carried off many men, St Gregory ordered a solemn procession of the Cross; 80 people in the church dropped down 'allen gâhes' at his feet and died; then, rising from prayer, 'sach er stên ûf dem Dietrîches hûse einen *engel mit pluotigem swerte,* der *wiskete daz selbe swert durch sinen gêren* (wiped it on his skirt). do verstuont (understood) der heilige man, daz der êwige Vater sînes zornes hin ze den liuten erwinden wolte,' would turn from his anger.[1]

Like such an angel of death, the Norse *Hel* rides about on her *steed* (pp. 314. 844), which is no other than the *dead-horse* seen in churchyards, p. 1142 (see Suppl.).

A Voigtland tradition makes the plague come on as a *blue vapour, shaped like a cloud,* Jul. Schmidt p. 158. By this is meant the sultry mist that precedes a pestilence; 'blue vapour' suggests the fire of the Thunder-god, p. 178. A plague that raged in the Odenwald shewed itself in the shape of a *little blue flame* in the sacristy of the *town-church* at Erbach; and they *walled it in.* In Amm. Marcel. 23, 6 (A.D. 363): 'Fertur autem quod post direptum hoc idem figmentum (Apollinis simulacrum), incensa civitate (Seleucia), milites *fanum* scrutantes invenere *foramen angustum: quo reserato* ut pretiosum aliquid invenirent, ex adyto quodam concluso a Chaldaeorum arcanis *labes primordialis exsiluit,* quæ insanabilium vi concepta morborum, ejusdem Veri Marcique Antonini temporibus *ab ipsis Persarum finibus ad usque Rhenum et Gallias cuncta contagiis polluebat et mortibus.*'

——Again, in the year 1709 the plague at Conitz in Prussia was charmed *into a hole of the lime-tree* in the churchyard, then a plug kept ready for the purpose, and fitting exactly, was driven

[1] Deutsche predigten ed. by K. Roth p. 76; conf. Hoffm. fundgr. 1, 77. Greg. Tur. 10, 1. 2. *Dietrich's house* is the moles Hadriani, named St. Angelo's castle after this very angel who shewed himself to the praying processionists. Our legends like to name large Roman buildings after Theoderic, notably the amphitheatre of Verona, Deut. heldensage pp. 40, 203.

in; since which she has never contrived to shew her face in the country again (Tettau and Temme p. 222). This agrees with the *blocking-up* of Unselde and the shrewmouse (pp. 878. 1168), but also with the general notion of diseases being transferable to trees. The immuring of the plague in *church and temple* is based on its having issued from the divinity (see Suppl.).

Augustine's De verbo apostol. 168 pictures the plague as a *woman that prowls about*, and can be bought off with money: 'Proverbium est Punicum, quod quidem Latine vobis dicam, quia Punice non omnes nostis; Pun. enim prov. est antiquum: *Numum vult Pestilentia?* duos illi da, et ducat se.'

During the great pestilence under Justinian, men saw brazen barks on the sea, and black men without heads sitting in them: wherever they sailed to, the plague at once broke out. In a city of Egypt the only inhabitants left alive were seven men and a boy ten years old; they were escaping with their valuables, when in a house near the town-gate all the men dropped down dead, and the boy alone fled; but under the gate a spectre seized him, and dragged him back into the house. Soon after, a rich man's steward came to fetch goods out of the house, and the boy warned him to haste away: at the same instant both man and boy fell dead to the ground. So says bishop John (Assemanni biblioth. orient. 2, 86-7).

The Mod. Greeks think of the plague as a *blind woman* that wanders through the towns from house to house, killing all she can touch. But she goes groping and feeling round the wall, and if you are wise enough to keep in the middle of the room, she can't get at you. According to one folk-tale, it is *three terrible women* that traverse the towns in company, one carrying a large paper, another a pair of scissors, the third a broom. Together they walk into the house where they mean to find victims: the first enters their names on her list, the next wounds them with her scissors, the last sweeps them away (Fauriel's Disc. prél. lxxxiii). Here are the three Fates (p. 410) or Furies and Eumenids converted into death-goddesses.

There is a beautiful Breton lay in Villemarqué 1, 46—51, called *Bosen Elliant*, the Elliant plague. A miller, so goes the tale, saw a *woman robed in white* sitting, staff in hand, at the ford of the river, wishing to be *carried over*. He took her on his

horse, and set her down on the other side. Then she said, 'Young man, and knowst thou whom thou hast put across? I am the *Plague;* and now having ended my journey round Bretagne, I will go to mass in Elliant church; every one whom I touch with my staff, shall speedily die, but thee and thy mother no harm shall befall.' And so it came to pass: all the people in that bourg died, save the poor widow and her son. Another folksong makes him convey her *on his shoulders:* nine children are carried out of one house, the churchyard is filled up to the walls: 'beside the churchyard stands an *oak,* to its top is tied a white kerchief, for the Plague has snatched away all the people.' She was banished at last by songs being sung about her: when she heard herself called by her name, she withdrew from the land, and never came back. The request to be *carried across* is exactly like those of the goddess Berhta and beings of elf kind.

Of the Lithuanian *Giltine,* plague or death-goddess, I should like to know fuller accounts. She massacres without mercy: 'kad tawę Giltine pasmaugtu (plague choke thee)!' is a familiar imprecation (Mielcke sub v. Donaleitis 141). The plague is also named *Magila* [Sl. mogíla, a grave], or simply *diewe* (goddess), and they say in cursing 'imma ji Magilos, imma ji diewai!' From Polish Lithuania, Adam Mickiewicz[1] reports as follows on the *morowa dziewica,* plague-maiden:—

Kiedy zaraza Litwę ma uderzyć,
jéj przyjście wieszcza odgadnie źrzenica;
bo jeśli sljuszna waidelotom wierzyć,
nieraz na pustych smętarzach i bljoniach
staje widomie *morowa dziewica*
w bieliznie, z wiankiem ognistym na skroniach,
czoljem przenosi bialjowieskie drzewa
a w ręku chustką skrwawioną powiéwa.
Dziewica stąpa kroki zljowieszczemi
na siolja, zamki i bogate miasta;
a ile razy krwawe chustką skinie,
tyle palaców zmienia się w pustynie;
gdzie nogą stąpi, świeży gróh wyrasta.[2]

[1] Konrad Wallenrod's Poezye, Warszawie 1832. p. 96.

[2] 'When a plague smites Lithuania . . . then, if we may believe the waidelots, in lone burial-grounds and fields stands visible the plague-maiden in white raiment with fiery wreath about her temples, bears on her brow divining-rods (?), and in her hand *a blood-stained kerchief waves.* The maiden steps with deliberate pace into villages, castles and wealthy towns; whenever she spreads out her gory kerchief, palaces turn into wildernesses; where with her foot she steps, a fresh grave grows

Woycicki, 1, 51, calls her *Powietrze*, which properly means air, vapour (p. 1183), but also plague. Clothed in white, she stalks along on stilts, tells her name to a man she meets, and wants to be carried *on his shoulders* through all the Russias: amidst the dead and dying he shall go unhurt. Well, he carries her through thorp and town: where she *waves her kerchief*, everybody dies, and all men flee before them. Arrived at the Pruth, he thought to drown her, and jumped into the river, but up she floated light as a feather, and flew to the woodland, while he sank to the bottom.

In another story 1, 127 she is called *Dżuma* (Russ. Serv. chuma): while she prevails, the villages stand deserted, the cocks are hoarse and cannot crow, the dogs no longer bark, yet they scent the Plague from afar (p. 666), and growl. A peasant saw her, *in white garb* and waving hair, clear a high fence and run up a ladder, to escape the howling dogs: he hurries up to the ladder and pushes it over, so that the Plague fell among the dogs; then she disappeared, still threatening vengeance.

Sometimes the *Dżuma* rides through the wood in a waggon, attended by owls and uhus (great horned owl): this ghostly procession is named *Homen*, Woyc. 1,130—3. 159—163. But the Plague could only last till New-year's day; then those who have fled troop back to their homes, taking care however not to walk in through the door, but to climb in at the window.

A tale narrated by a Wendish peasant, Joh. Parum Schulze,[1] falls somewhere in the middle of the 17th century: So it came to pass, that a man, as I have always heard tell, that was Niebuhr by name, where now Kuffalen dwell, that was afterward Luchau, as he rideth home from town, there comes a *man* alongside, and begs that he may ride a little in the cart, for that he was right weary. This Hans Niebuhr asks him in Wendish, as that tongue was then commonly used, 'whence, and whither away?' and takes him up on the cart. At first he will not declare himself, but this Niebuhr, being somewhat drunken, begins to question more sharply. Then he declared himself, saying, 'I will to thy

up.' I am not sure that I have rightly rendered 'bialjowieskie drzewa,' nor whether the adj. can be conn. with 'bialowieszcka' p. 474 n.

[1] Of Süten village, Küsten parish, Lüneburg. About 1740 he composed a chronicle, Ann. der Br. Lüneb. churlande, jahrg. 8, Hanover 1794. p. 282-3.

village with thee, where I have not yet been; for I am *der Pest* (m.)' Then did Niebuhr intreat for his life, and the Plague gave him this lesson, that he should leave him in the cart outside the village, and *strip naked* and have no clothing at all on his body, but [going home,] take his *pot-hook*, and coming out before his house, *run all round his homestead with the sun, and then bury it under the doorstep*: 'if one but carry me not in' quoth the *Pest*, 'in the smell that hangs about the clothes.' Now this Niebuhr leaves him in the cart a good piece from the village, for it was night; takes the *pot-hanger*, runs *naked out of the village and all round it*, then sticks the iron under the bridge, which iron I myself saw in the year 1690 when the bridge was mended, but nigh eaten away with rust. When this Niebuhr came back for his horse and cart, quoth the Plague: 'had I known this, I had not declared myself to thee, this device whereby thou hast *locked me out of the whole village*.' When they were come up to the village, Niebuhr takes his horses out of the cart, and leaves him sitting thereon. Neither was any sickness from pestilence perceived in that village; but in all the villages around the plague did mightily rage.

So far Schulze's homely narrative. Removing the *pot-hook* off the hearth seems to stand for leaving the house open: from a deserted house death has nothing to take. As the retiring householder symbolically 'lets down the *haal* on the hearth,' the new one on taking possession must 'tuck it up' again.[1] Running round the house or village resembles that carrying of the ram round the city, and the undressing agrees with the Roman custom.

Then, as the Plague is slow of foot, she gets herself driven into the village in a cart, or lugged in pickaback, like homesprites and will o' wisps that jump on men's shoulders, pp. 512-3. 916.

Swedish stories make the Plague enter a village from the south, and stand still before the first homestead, looking like a pretty *little boy* with a rasp or grater (rifva) in his hand, and rasping with it. When he did that, there still remained one or two alive in a house, as the *grater* could not take everything along with it. But when he got to the next village, there came after him the *Plague-damsel* (pestflicka), she swept with a *broom* outside the

[1] Wulfter's Deduction, beil. nos. 4. 5. 135.

gate, then all in the village died. But she was very seldom seen, and never except at daybreak (Afzelius 4, 179).

In Vestergötland they had decreed a human sacrifice to stay the 'digerdöd,' and *two beggar children* having just then come in, were to be *buried alive in the ground.* They soon dug the pit open, gave the hungry children cake spread with lard, and made them sit down in the pit: while they ate, the people shovelled up the earth. 'Oh,' cried the younger child, when the first spadeful was thrown over it, 'here's some dirt fallen on my bread and lard.' A mound was quickly thrown up over them, and nothing more was heard of them (Afz. 4, 181). Compare the walling up of children in the foundation of a new building, p. 1142, and the offering of a young heifer in the holy fire during cattle-plague, p. 608.

In Norway the *Pesta* is imagined as a *pale old woman* who travelled about the country with a *grater* (rive, a toothed instrument for tearing up sods or hay and corn) and a *broom* (lime): when she used the grater, some few got off with their lives, but where the besom came into play, there perished every born soul. A man having rowed her *over a piece of water,* and demanding his fare, she said, 'you'll find your quittance on the bench at home;' and no sooner was he home, than he sickened and died. She often appears *in red clothing,* and whoever beholds her falls into a great fear (Faye p. 135).

The Servians say their *Kuga* is a real woman, who goes *wrapt in a white veil*: many have seen her so, and some have carried her. She came to one man in the field, or met him on the road, and said, 'I am the *Kuga,* carry me to such a place!' He took her up pickaback, and without any trouble carried her whither she would. The Kugas (plagues) have a country of their own by the sea, but God sends them when people do wickedly and sin much. While the plague rages they never call her *kuga,* but *kuma* (cummer, gossip), to make her friendly. And during that time they dare not leave any vessels unwashed at night, for she will pass through the kitchen, and if she spy any such, will scour and polish all the spoons and dishes (which detains her in the house); at times she even makes away with the bacon out of the loft, Wtb. sub v. Kuga; and new ed. of Serv. songs 1, 149 note.

Here again she comes out in the fashion of ancient goddesses,

Holda and Berhta, who cannot abide disorder in the house, pp. 268. 274.

Among the Slovèns, cattle-plague (kuga) is a *spotted calf* that kills sheep and oxen by its cry (Murko p. 74).

The devil is reported to have said, there was but one cure for the kuga, that was mattock and hoe, meaning burial (Vuk sub v. metil).

A Finnic song (Schröter 60) adjures the Plague to take herself away to steely mountains in the gloomy North: saddle-horse and carriage-horse shall be given her for the journey. She is called *rutto*, the sudden, like our MHG. gâhe tôt.

In L. Germany they have folktales about the *Heidmann* (heath man) who *peeps in at your window* at night: any one he looks at then, must die within year and day; just so does Berhta look in at the window (p. 274), so does Death (p. 772). In Tyrol too they tell of a ghost that goes about at the time of one's death: whatever *window he looks into*, people die in that house, DS. no. 266.

In the Lausitz *Smertnitsa in white array* prowls about the villages: to whatever house she directs her step, a corpse will soon be there. In the house itself she announces her presence by thumping and turning the boards up. Convulsions in the dying are signs that Smertnitsa is getting the better of them, Laus. mon. schr. 1797. p. 756.

There cannot be the slightest doubt left, that all these various personifications of the plague are to be viewed as effluences of superior divinities of antiquity, whose might, merciful and awful, they display by turns. Veiled in white they stride along, like Berhta, and like the mother that walks in the corn at noon. Plague-maiden and fate-maiden meet and touch, morowa dziewica with Marena, Morena (p. 771), the harmful goddess with the healing pitying Eir (see Suppl.).

CHAPTER XXXVII.

HERBS AND STONES.

Pliny has thrown a peculiar charm over his Natural History by not disdaining to record minutely even the superstitious views of the vulgar about animals and plants. How his reverence for antiquity, his elegance of exposition, stand out against the dry gravity of our present students of nature, who never waste a glance on the customs of their country, and to whom all the force and grace of Teutonic idiom is but small beer (see Suppl.).

'*Krût, steine* unde *wort* hânt an kreften grôzen hort' (herb and stone and wholesome word have of healing powers rich hoard), says our Freidank 111, 6; and as there lies in dwarfs a special acquaintance with the healing virtues hidden in herbs (pp. 450-1 n. 457), it is worth noticing, that in the mouth of a king of that race, Goldemar (pp. 453. 466. 509) is placed the dictum, 'Christianos fidem in *verbis*, Judæos in *lapidibus* pretiosis, et Paganos in *herbis* ponere,' Meibom's Script. 1, 186. Paganism does present a rich store of mythical notions on the origin and manifold virtues of these plants.

1. Herbs.

As among men, so among Herbs, the noble tower above the base: they were created by gods in some secluded sacred spot, they sprouted up where innocent blood had been shed, they were brought over by birds, and so on. Under the goddess's footfall the flower springs up, as all growth withers where sorrowing lovers part. On the mountain's top, to which the lover had carried up his dying love, and poured out her last reviving draught, grew healing herbs that blessed the land at large (Marie de Fr. 1, 268). Mountains foster what is rarest in the realm of plants. Zeus and Hera laid them down on Ida's top (Il. 14, 347):

τοῖσι δ' ὑπὸ χθὼν δῖα φύεν νεοθηλέα ποίην,
λωτόν θ' ἑρσήεντα ἰδὲ κρόκον ἠδ' ὑάκινθον,
πυκνὸν καὶ μαλακόν, ὃς ἀπὸ χθονὸς ὑψόσ' ἔεργε·

(under them bountiful earth teemed up a *new* vegetation, dew-sprinkled clover and saffron and hyacinth, thick and soft, etc.). A similar *bed of flowers* still haunts the imagination of our Minnesingers (Walth. 39. 40. Hadloub 2, 194-5), but men have to gather the grass and flowers for that amid singing of birds. To the Medieval way of thinking it was most natural to make healing herbs grow out of the graves of holy men, as we plant flowers on the tomb and pick some for remembrance. Even on the huorco's barrow grows wound-healing rosamarina, the plucking of which turns men into doves, Pentam. 4, 8. The saint's grave nourishes a peartree, whose fruit cures the sick forthwith (Greg. Tur. mirac. 1, 47). We have seen p. 1178n. how at the foot of a holy statue a *nova species* (quite the Homeric *νεοθηλής* above) grew up to the skirt of the robe, and then became a healing plant[1]; with this I connect what Pliny tells us 24, 19 [106]: '*herba in capite statuae nata,* collectaque alicujus in vestis panno et alligata in lino rufo, capitis dolorem confestim sedare traditur' (see Suppl.).

Many herbs and flowers are *named after gods,* but as we are seldom told the occasion of a name being given, it admits of more than one explanation. The god produced the plant, or he uses it, he loves it, loathes it, in shape or colour it resembles some part of his person, his raiment, arms, and so forth. Thus the names *Baldrs brâ* (p. 222, conf. supercilium Veneris), *Freyju hâr* (p. 303) come from the beaming lustre of the flower; *Forneotes folme* (p. 240), *Niarðar vöttr* (p. 218) from the leaves lying like five fingers side by side. *Donner-rebe* (-vine) is the Lett. Pehrkones. *Donnerkraut, Donnerbesen* (p. 183) may, like barba Jovis, be accounted for by the bushy tanglement of their tendrils; but how *Perunika* (p. 183) stands related to Perun, I do not know. *Devil's-bit* is from the marks of teeth supposed to be visible in its root, and due to diabolic agency. A great many names are taken from *beasts,* especially those of our native fable, and fancy has been equally busy on them.

Of flowers and herbs the Sanskrit distinguishes the wholesome by the adjunct 'friend,' the hurtful by 'foe,' as *Ramâpriya,* dear

[1] The healing power imparted by the *skirt of the garment* was very likely suggested by the Biblical 'touching of the hem,' Matt. 9, 20. 14, 36. Mk 6, 56. Luke 8, 44.

to Lakshmi = lotus, *Yamapriya*, dear to Yama = ficus indica, conf. Pott's Etym. for. 2, 424—7. This agrees with OHG. *gotafargezzan*, marrubium album (Graff 4, 279), MLG. *got-vorghetene* (Brun's Beitr. p. 48) and the phrase 'ergaz im Got,' Gramm. 4, 175 (supra p. 21); the herb is our andorn (horehound).

Other plants beyond a doubt derive their divine names from their healing power being first *made known* to mortals by the gods. With the Greeks, *Athena* and *Artemis* appear to have been active in this line; and I think they are represented amongst our goddesses by *Frigg* and *Freyja*, or whoever took their place afterwards, *St. Mary* above all. The *artemisia* was apparently discovered or revealed by Artemis [Pliny 25, 36, 25], the *proserpinaca* by Proserpine 27, 12 [104]. The *παρθένιον* was shown by the divine *Παρθένος*, as Pliny relates, 22, 17 [20]: 'verna carus Pericli Atheniensium principi, cum in arce templum aedificaret repsissetque super altitudinem fastigii et inde cecidisset, hac herba dicitur sanatus, *monstrata* Pericli *somnio* a *Minerva*, quare *parthenium* vocari coepta est, assignaturque ei deae.' Of the lappa he says, 24, 18 [116]: 'medetur et suibus, effossa sine ferro; quidam adjiciunt et fodientem dicere oportere, Haec est herba argemon, *quam Minerva reperit*, suibus remedium qui de illa gustaverint;' *ἄργεμον* = albugo in the eye. Hermes pulls out of the ground for Odysseus the *φάρμακον* mighty against magic: *μῶλυ δέ μιν καλέουσι θεοί*, Od. 10, 305 (p. 369). Does the *Iris* owe its name to the messenger of the gods, or the white hue of the lily, or other causes? In christian times an *angel* reveals the *angelica* in a dream, Aw. 1, 159 (see Suppl.).

The names borrowed from animals may gain much in meaning by the animals themselves being connected with the service of gods. Thus there need only a myth underlie such names as bären-klaue, wolfs-milch, OHG. wolves-zeisala, AS. wulfes-tæsel, and AS. hræfnes-leác, to bring to light some relation in which the herb stands to dawn (p. 743-4), to the hero suckled by the she-wolf, to the cordial conveyed by the god's messenger. We find a convincing example in the *spechts-wurzel*, pecker's root, brought by the sacred bird (p. 673), who probably gave his name to one of the grand woods of our olden time, *Spehtes-hart* (Spessart): not only does it serve to burst open the plug, but he protects the peony especially from being plucked (p. 973). The healing

παιωνία was associated with Παιών the divine physician, and it is precisely the wounded Ares that he doctors (Il. 5, 900); in which I see a new point of connexion between Ares and Roman Mars, whose bird the woodpecker was. Athena too was named Παιωνία. Now I think it is not without a bearing on this matter, that our Zio himself has a herb named after him: ON. *Týr-viðr*, Dan. *Tys-ved*, daphne mezereum (p. 199), which might have been in OHG. Zio-witu, Ziowes-witu, i.e. Martis arbor, lignum, frutex; but instead of exactly this name, we find a corresponding one, which I believe I can explain more correctly now than at p. 428, note 2. I then thought of Sigelint, but as the spelling *Cigelinta*, i.e. Zige-linta, preponderates (Graff 5, 627), as *Zîlant* (659) seems synonymous, and as beside *Zeiland* we have in Austria to this day *Zillind*, *Zwilind*, *Zwilinde* meaning the same daphne,[1] the real old spelling comes to light, *Zio-linta*, answering in form and substance to Týviðr. For linta is not only lime-tree, but also liber, bast, and we call the plant indifferently seidel-baum and seidel-bast (for zeilinde-baum, -bast), and it is commonly applied as a healing drug (Höfer 3, 135). An AS. Tiwes-wudu, Tiges-wudu, Tiges-lind is readily inferred. Now whether daphne and pæonia be related or distinct, matters nothing to their mythical analogy; Pliny says the peony was also called pentorobon, πεντόροβον, from its bearing four or five peas; its Boh. name is wlčí lyko, i.e. *wolf's bast*, Fr. *garou*, i.e. loup-garou, werewolf. I will now pick out a few remarkable names of plants from F. Magnusen's Lex. 758-9. The viola *Martis*, Fr. violette de *Mars*, is in Iceland called *Týs*-fiôla, *Týrs*-fiôla: this may be a mere translation of the Latin name, which alludes more to the month than the god, like our own märz-viole. There is more in the Norw. *Tyri-hialm* or *Thor-hialm*, *Thoralm*, *Thor-hat* for aconitum or monk's-hood, to which answers our *eisen-hütlein* (iron hat), Swed. Dan. *storm-hat*, apparently from the flower resembling in shape a helmet or hat; but the same plant is called wolfs-kraut, wolfs-wurz, Dan. ulve-urt, Engl. *wolf's bane*, Dan. *ulve-bane*, *ulve-död*, which may be understood of Týr's fight with the wolf, and moreover likened to the wolf's bast and garou

[1] This too in districts that say Er-tag and not Zis-tag for Tuesday (pp. 124. 201); so that in the plant's name Zio-worship took a wider range.

above, as several other names waver between daphne and aconitum. And wolf's bast may even suggest the three bands laid on the Fenris-ûlfr, 'læðîng' (Dan. leding, Molb. dial. lex. p. 317), 'drômi' and 'gleipnir,' S. 33-4-5. There was yet another name for daphne given on p. 377: *Wieland's berry*, together with a Scand. *Velands urt* for the medicinal valerian; names which carry us back, if not to a god, to one of our greatest heroes of old, whose father was the wise leech *Wate* (see Suppl.).

But there is only a small number of herbs named after gods or heroes, compared with those referable to goddesses and wise women. Most of these are now given to *Mary*, who in this case, as in that of pretty little beetles (p. 694) and brilliant stars (p. 726), replaces the elder *Frouwa*. *Frauen-schühli* is trefolium melilotus, whose flower resembles a shoe, in some places *Marienpantöffelchen;* was *Cypripedium* calceolus Veneris formed in imitation? *Fraua-menteli, ösa* (our) *fraua-menteli* (Tobler 204[b]), alchemilla vulg., from its leaves being folded mantle-wise. *Frauaseckeli* (-satchel), geum rivale, ibid. *Freyju-hâr* stands for several kinds of fern (supra p. 303); does it independently answer to herba capillaris, *capillus Veneris* in Apuleius's Herb. 47, or was it borrowed from it? *Frauen-trän, Marien-thräne*, orchis mascula (Stald. 1, 296), reminds of 'helenium e lacrimis Helenae natum,' Pliny 21, 10 [33], still more of Freyja's golden tears, 'grâtr Freyju,' Sn. 128. 132 (conf. p. 325), and the flowers and precious stones that drop when goddesses laugh or weep (p. 1101); a costly wine is called *unser liebfrauen-milch*. How a flower came to be called *Mother-of-God's mirror*, is told in the nursery-legend. *Frauen-schlössli, frauen-schlüssel*, primula veris, Stald. 1, 124, otherwise himmels-schlüssel (heaven's key), schlüssel-blume; because it unlocks the spring, or opens treasure? it has yet more names, and is the medicinal betonica, of which more anon. As these plants are all natives of our meadows, it is not likely that their names were drawn from Latin, and only came into vogue in the last few centuries; though in OHG. glosses we find no herb compounded with frouwa. It were too daring to trace the *oster-blume* (ôster-gloie, Ms. 2, 61[a]) back to *Ostarâ, Eástre*, as the form of name can, like *maiblume*, be explained by the season of its blossoming; these maybells were offered in sacrifice (p. 58), were borne by white-women (p. 963), and to

pick them before sunrise is recommended in Sup. I, 1075 (see Suppl.).

Flowers are a feminine adornment, young maidens twine the wreath, sage matrons cull the herb. Marner says prettily, Ms. 2, 174ª: 'ez riuchet (smells) als ein *edel krût* ûz einer *megde* hant.' Why should not the wise women of even our earliest eld have been skilled in herb-lore? it is ascribed to witches and old women still, and apparently it is not without a meaning that from healing herbs the witches select names for themselves or their admirer (p. 1063). All witches' herbs may most appropriately be called *beschrei*-kraut, *beruf*-kraut (speak ill, becall, bewitch), though the names have also been applied to particular plants.

The culling and fetching of herbs had to be done at particular times, and according to long-established forms (see Suppl.).

Mostly before sunrise, when the day is young: 'herba quacunque a rivis aut fluminibus *ante solis ortum* collecta, ita ut *nemo colligentem videat*,' Pliny 24, 19 [107]. 'praecipiunt aliqui effossuris (anagallida), *ante solis ortum, priusquam quidquam aliud loquantur, ter salutare eam*, tum sublatam exprimere; ita praecipuas esse vires,' 25, 13 [92]. 'aiunt, si quis *ante solis ortum* eam (chamelaeam) capiat, dicatque ad albugines oculorum se capere, adalligata discuti id vitium' 24, 14 [82]. 'et hanc (Samolum herbam) sinistra manu legi *a jejunis*' 24, 11 [63]. 'radicem (pistolochiae) *ante solis ortum* erutam involvunt lana' 20, 4 [14]. The viscus was gathered at new moon, prima luna 24, 4 [6]; the verbenaca 'circa Canis ortum, ita ut *ne luna aut sol conspiciat*' 25, 9 [59]. Unseen by man or heavenly body, silent and fasting, shall the collector approach the sacred herb. Lilies of the valley are to be culled *before sunrise*, devil's-bit at *midnight of St. John's eve*, Sup. I, 190. 1075.

Pliny 25, 3 [6] tells of a plant called by the Romans *herba Britannica*, because brought from the isles between Germany and Britain (ex oceani insulis extra terras positis 27, 1): 'Florem *vibones* vocant, qui collectus *priusquam tonitrua audiantur* (is not that between lightning and thunder?) et devoratus, securos a fulminibus in totum reddit. Frisii, qua castra erant, nostris demonstravere illam; mirorque nominis causam, nisi forte confines oceano Britanniae velut propinquae dicavere; non enim

inde appellatam eam quoniam ibi plurima nasceretur certum est, etiamnum Britannia libera.' Here we have a plant held in esteem by the ancient Germans themselves, and the injunction to gather it before hearing thunder (that year?) sounds quite Teutonic. It protected from lightning, was therefore sacred to the Thunder-god, like the house-leek, which is also called donner-wehr. AS. glosses render the Britannica by *hæwenhŷðele;* hæwen is glaucus, the second word may come from hûð praeda, or hŷðe portus; in the latter case it would mean something like blue sea-flower. Anyhow it was a water-plant, hydrolapathum it is thought. I would gladly recognise in it the *seeblatt* so sacred to the Frisians and Zealanders (p. 654), whose flower is said to be white or yellow; its names *nixblume* and *mummel* call to mind the Indian names for the lotus, Ramâpriya, dear to Rama or Lakshmi, and Srîvâsa, Srî's house = Lakshmi's, who came up out of the sea (see Suppl.).

In digging up a herb, the Roman custom was, first to pour mead and honey round it, as if to propitiate the earth, then to cut round the root with a sword, looking toward the east (or west), and the moment it is pulled out to lift it on high without letting it touch the ground. '*Favis* ante et *melle* terrae *ad piamentum datis, circumscriptam ferro* (verbenacam) effodi *sinistra manu* et *sublime tolli,*' Pliny 25, 9 [59]. 'et fossuri (iridem), tribus ante mensibus *mulsa aqua circumfusa,* hoc veluti placamento *terrae blandiuntur, circumscripta mucrone gladii orbe triplici,* et cum legerint eam *protinus in coelum attollunt*' 21, 7 [19]. 'nigrum elleborum melampodion vocant, quo et domos suffiunt purgantque, spargentes et pecora, cum precatione solemni; hoc et religiosius colligitur: primum enim *gladio circumscribitur,* dein qui succisurus est *ortum spectat,* et precatur ut liceat sibi concedentibus Diis facere; observatque *aquilae volatus* (fere enim secantibus interest), et si *prope advolavit,* moriturum illo anno qui succidat augurium est' 25, 5 [21]. 'cavent effossuri (mandragoram) contrarium ventum, et *tribus circulis ante gladio circumscribunt,* postea fodiunt *ad occasum spectantes*' 25, 13 [94]. In some cases, when the root had been dug out and made use of, it was put in again, that it might live on: 'hanc (senecionem) si *ferro circumscriptam* effodiat aliquis, tangatque ea dentem et alternis ter despuat, ac *reponat in eundem locum* ita

ut vivat herba, aiunt dentem eum postea non doliturum' 25, 13 [106].

A great point was to guard against *cold iron* touching the root (hence *gold* or *redhot iron* was used in cutting), and against the herb pulled up, or the branch cut off, touching the ground:[1] 'radicem (pistolochiae) ante solis ortum erutam *involvunt lana* coloris quem nativum vocant. quidam *auro effodiendam* censent, cavendumque *ne terram adtingat*' 20, 4 [14]. '(viscum) collectum e robore *sine ferro*, si *terram non attigit*, comitialibus mederi (putant)' 24, 4 [6]. 'virgam e myrice defractam, ut *neque terram neque ferrum attingeret*' 24, 9 [41]. 'cavendum *ne* avulsa herba *terram tangat*' 25, 13. 'herba juxta quam canes urinam fundunt, evulsa *ne ferro attingatur*, luxatis celerrime medetur' 24, 19 [111].

In picking or pulling up, the operator used the *left hand;* in certain cases he had to do it *unbelted* and *unshod*, and to *state for whom and for what purpose* it was done: 'si quis unum ex his (pomis Punici mali), *solutus vinculo omni cinctus* et *calceatus* atque etiam *anuli*, decerpserit *duobus digitis, pollice et quarto sinistrae manus*, atque ita lustratis levi tactu oculis, mox in os additum devoraverit, ne dente contingat, affirmatur nullam oculorum imbecillitatem passurus eo anno' 23, 6 [59]. 'praecipitur ut *sinistra manu* ad hos usus eruatur (iris rufa), colligentesque dicant *cujus hominis* utique *causa* eximant' 21, 20 [83]. 'parthenium . . . magi contra tertianas *sinistra manu* evelli eam jubent, dicique cujus causa vellatur, nec respicere' 21, 30 [104]. 'pseudanchusa . . . folium ejus *sinistra* decerpi jubent magi, et *cujus causa* sumatur dici' 22, 20 [24]. 'praecipitur ut qui colligit (thlaspi) *dicat sumere* se contra inguina et contra omnes collectiones et contra vulnera, *unaque manu tollat*' 27, 13 [113]. 'autumnalis urticae radicem alligatam in tertianis, ita *ut aegri nuncupentur* cum eruitur ea radix, *dicaturque cui* et *quorum filio* eximatur, liberare morbo tradiderunt' 22, 14 [16]. 'buglosso inarescente, si quis medullam e caule eximat, *dicatque ad quem liberandum* febre id faciat' 26, 11 [71]. So Columella 6, 5 of the radicula, quam pastores *consiliginem* vocant; ea in Marsis montibus plurima nascitur, omnique pecori maxime est salutaris:

[1] As they would not let witches touch the ground (p. 1074): the iarðar megin.

laeva manu effoditur *ante solis ortum*, sic enim lecta majorem vim creditur habere.

In our native tradition, now so scant and faded, I can find but little to match full accounts like these. An important statement is that of Burcard on the *bilisa* (hyoscyamus, henbane), 'quam virginem *nudam minimo digito dextrae manus* eruere faciunt, et radicitus erutam cum ligamine aliquo ad *minimum digitum dextri pedis* ligare'; the object has been stated p. 593. The nudity of the person pulling it up answers to the above-mentioned laying aside of belt and shoes, but the right hand and right foot are at variance with the Roman preference for left limbs. The whole ceremony however seems to have been equally known in Gaul, where the Romans, as will appear by and by, found a herb-ritual ready organized. An AS. Herbal prescribes thus for sore eyes, wiþ eágena sâre: '*ær sunnan upgange* oþþe hwene *ær heo fullîce gesîgan* onginne (begin to sink), gâ tô þære ylcan wyrte *Proserpinacam*, and *bewrît* hî âbûtan mid *ânum gyldenum hringe*, and cweð (say) þæt þû hî tô eágena læcedôme niman wille (wilt take it for cure of eyes); æfter þrim dagon gâ æft þær-tô ær sunnangancge, and genim hî and hoh (take and hang it) onbûtan þæs mannes swyran (neck); heo framaþ wel.' For ælf-âdle: 'gang *on Þunresœfen*, þonne *sunne on setle* sie, þær þû wite *Elenan* standan; sing þonne benedicite et pater noster, and sting þîn seax on þâ wyrte. læt stician eft tô þonne dæg, and niht furdum scâðe on þam ilcan ahte, gang ærest tô ciricean and þe gesena and Gode bebeod. gang þonne swîgende, and þeah þe hwæt-hwega egeslîces ongean cume, oþþe man, ne cweð þû him ænig word tô, ær þû cume tô þære wyrte, þe þû on æfen ær gemearcodest; sing þonne benedicite and pater noster, âdelf þâ wyrt, *læt stician þæt seax* þæron. gange eft swâ þû raðost mæge tô ciricean, and lege under weofod mid þam seaxe, læt licgean oþþæt *sunne uppe sie*. âwæsc siþðan, dô tô drence and bisceopwyrt and Cristes mæles ragu, âwyl þriwa on meolcum, geot þriwa hâlig wæter on; sing on pater noster and credan etc. and hine eác *ymbwrît mid sweorde* on iiii healfa on cruce, and drince þone drenc, siþðan him bið sôna sæl.' Here I think a Latin groundwork, with admixture of christian rites, is self-evident. Thiers in his Traité des superstitions says: 'Quelques uns pour se garantir de maléfices ou de charmes vont cueillir *de*

grand matin, à jeun, sans avoir lavé leurs mains, sans avoir prie Dieu, sans parler à personne et *sans saluer* personne en leur chemin, une certaine plante, et la mettent ensuite sur la personne maléficiée ou ensorcelée. Ils portent sur eux une racine de *chicorée,* qu'ils ont *touchée à genoux* avec *de l'or* et *de l'argent* le jour de la nativité de saint Jean baptiste, un peu *avant le soleil levé,* et qu'ils ont ensuite arrachée de terre avec un ferrement et beaucoup de cérémonies, après l'avoir exorcizée avec *l'épée* de Judas Machabée.' This again seems to be Celtic, and yet resembles the Roman practices, warlike Judas' patriot sword doing duty for the circle-drawing 'ferrum.' In Superst. I, 581, the lopping is also done *with gold* instead of iron. When Renart finds in the meadow the wished-for plant, and cautiously pulls it up, it is said: 'ne l'a *triblée n'esquachie,*ençois la menja *sanz tribler,* del remanant ala froter trestotes les plaies qu'il ot, et li cuir maintenant reclot et fu gariz et trestoz sains' 25105—11. The herb was neither to be fretted nor squashed; conf. Michel's Trist. 2, 50. In Thurneisser's Erkl. der archidoxen, Berl. 1575, when it says fol. 76: 'Verbeen, agrimenia, modelger Charfreytags graben hilfft dich sehr Das dir die frawen werden holdt, Doch brauch *kein eisen, grab's mit goldt*'; I think it must be drawn from Latin sources. Much more significant is what a song in the Hätzler book says of the 'herb Hope' 137. 294: 'Daz ist gar ein *edel krût,* Grab ez *stille, nicht ze lût, Schützen sind darüber gesetzt,* Begrif man dich, du wurdst geletzt An dîner sælden hôhstem pfant' ('tis a priceless herb, I trow, dig it deftly, soft and slow: o'er it are set guards to watch thee; thou wouldst forfeit, should they catch thee, thy dearest pledge of happiness). These warders and watchers of the herb are on a par with that woodpecker that guards the peony: one would like to know more particulars about them (see Suppl.).

About the *tying-on* (*alligare,* usu. *adalligare*[1]) of herbs when picked or dug up, Pliny imparts the following precepts: 'herba adalligata *laevo brachio,* ita ut *aeger quid sit illud ignoret*' 24, 19 [107]. 'magi heliotropium quartanis *quater,* in tertianis *ter alli-*

[1] A curious compound = ad-ad-ligare: they must have ceased to feel the origin of the assimilation *ll* before they could add a second ad. It is matched, imperfectly 'tis true, by our past part. geglückt (fr. gegelückt), and perfectly by the O. Fr. concueillir = concolligere, con-con-legere, and the Goth. gagamainjan to profane, gagavairþjan to reconcile.

gari jubent ab ipso aegro, precarique soluturum se nodos liberatum, et ita facere non exempta herba' 22, 21 [29]. 'sunt qui *genicula novem* vel unius vel e duabus tribusve herbis ad hunc articulorum numerum *involvi lana succida nigra* jubeant ad remedia strumae panorumve. *jejunum* debere esse qui colligat, ita ire in domum absentis cui medeatur, supervenientique ter dicere *jejuno jejunum* medicamentum dare, atque ita *adalligare*, triduoque id facere. quod e graminum genere *septem internodia* habet, efficacissime capiti intra dolores adalligatur' 24, 19 [118]. 'alliget ei *septem folia*' 26, 11 [71]. 'verbenaca jumentorum febribus in vino medetur, sed in tertianis *a tertio geniculo* incisa, quartanis a quarto,' ibid.[1] Or, instead of being tied, it was put under the patient's pillow: 'sedum, si *involutum panno nigro ignorantis pulvino* subjiciatur' 26, 10 [69]. 'absinthium somnos allicit olfactum, aut *inscio sub capite* positum' 27, 7 [28]. As a rule, the sufferer was not to know what was tied on or laid under him; knots and joints in the herb bore a reference to the manner of tying and its repetitions. Often it sufficed if the protecting plant were *held in the hand* or *worn in the girdle*: 'virgam pōpuli *in manu tenentibus* intertrigo non metuatur' 24, 8 [32]. 'virgam (viticis) qui *in manu habeant* aut *in cinctu*, negantur intertriginem sentire' 24, 9 [38]. 'intertrigines negat fieri Cato absinthium Ponticum *secum habentibus*' 26, 8 [58]. Yet if you fall, *holding in your hand* the nymphæa, you become epileptic (p. 654).

But in many parts of Germany herbs of power used to be *suspended* up in the loft, on the main rafter, or over door and gate ways, and left there all the year round, till they were replaced by fresh ones.

The Romans had a strange custom of laying a *sieve* in the road, and using the *stalks of grass that grew up through it* for medical purposes: 'cribro in limite adjecto, herbae intus exstantes decerptae adalligataeque gravidis partus accelerant' 24, 19 [109]. The sieve was a sacred utensil (p. 1108-12): exstare is extra stare, prominere. This reminds me of our old Weisthümer, which determine the fineness of a tissue by the stalks

[1] Wiþ heáfod-ece (headache): âdelf *wegbrædan* (plantago) bûtan îsene ær sunnan upgange, bind þâ moran (berries, seed) ymb þæt heáfod mid wræstereádê þræde. sona him biþ sel.

piercing through it, 1, 12: 'item, es sprechint ouch die hoflüt, das si hundert und sibentzig eln huobtuochs gebint dem von Hünwil, das selb huobtuoch sölli so swach sin, wenn man das spreit uf ein wasen, das gens gras und bollen durch das tuoch mugint essen.' And 1, 254: 'the said cloth shall be spread over turf and be of such substance that geese can eat grass through it, and not starve.' This has nothing to do with healing, but the mode of thought is similar.

Having made these general observations, I will now take up one by one the herbs most renowned for healing. Yet some of them seem purposely to have no distinct name given them; among these is the herb that kept birds away from millet and panic: 'pestem a milio atque panico, sturnorum passerumque agmina, scio abigi herba *cujus nomen ignotum est*, in quatuor angulis segetis defossa, mirum dictu, ut omnino nulla avis intret,' Pliny 18, 17 [45]. A poem in Ls. 1, 211—8 tells of a maiden that was picking flowers for a garland, and by chance got hold of a *herb she did not know*: no sooner was it *in her hand* than she saw all her lovers before her, heard their talk, and knew all their thoughts. At length one of her companions knocked the miraculous plant out of her hand, it fell into a brook that ran past, and floated away; and all the prophetic power was gone. Again, the *nameless blue wonderflower* (p. 964), that suddenly opens the shepherd's eyes who has unconsciously stuck it in his hat, and discloses the hitherto concealed entrance to the treasure (p. 971), comes before us the more mysteriously, as it cannot in the least be identified.[1] The name *forget-me-not*, which it may be said to assume to itself, is supposed to express no more than its sentiment, and seems not to have been applied to myosotis till a later time. A herb with an equally imperative name is reported by Pliny 27, 12 [106]: 'circa Ariminum nota est herba quam *resedam* vocant, discutit collectiones inflammationesque omnes. qui curant ea, addunt haec verba: "*Reseda*, morbos *reseda*! scisne, scisne quis hic pullos egerit? radices nec caput nec pedes habeant!" haec ter dicunt, totiesque despuunt.' Collectio is a

[1] In Polish quarries grows a beautiful *blue starflower* with a long stalk (conf. trojziele p. 1216), which the peasantry make war upon, because they think old women and gipsies use it in bewitching the cows, that they may suck up all the milk themselves (Pott's Zigeuner p. viii).

gathering, and 'pullos agere' must refer to this or the inflammation. What we now call reseda (odorata) is apparently a different herb (see Suppl.).

Of roots, the *Alrune* stands first in fame. OHG. glosses already have *alrûna, alrûn* for mandragora (Graff 2, 523. Schm. 3, 97), and I have on fair grounds (p. 404) identified the name of the personified plant with that of wise-women in our remotest antiquity. H. Sachs iv. 3, 34 still pictures the *Alraun* as a goddess who meets you at the crossways.[1] Besides, the root itself has the shape of a man, and the process of pulling it up is described as follows: If a hereditary thief that has preserved his chastity gets hung, and drops water or seed from him, there grows up under the gallows the broad-leaved yellow-flowered mandrake. If dug up, she groans and shrieks so dismally, that the digger would die thereof. He must therefore stop his ears with cotton or wax, and go before sunrise on a Friday, and take with him a black dog that has not a white hair on him; make three crosses over the mandrake, and dig round her till the root holds by thin fibres only; these he must tie with a string to the *dog's tail*, hold up a piece of bread before him, and run away. The dog rushes after the bread, wrenches up the root, and falls dead, pierced by her agonizing wail. The root is now taken up

[1] This personality of the *Alraun* comes out plainly in a merry tale handed down by a MS. of the 15th cent.: Dicitur de quadam muliere, quae habuit virum nimis durum, quae quandam vetulam in sortilegiis famosam consuluit. vetula vero, experta in talibus valde, dixit 'se optima sibi scire et posse (sub-)venire, si suum vellet consilium imitari.' et dum ipsa promitteret 'se velle imitari,' vetula adjecit: 'habesne in horto tuo canapum spissum et longum?' quae ait 'habeo valde optatum.' cui vetula 'vade' inquit 'tribus noctibus successive in crepusculo serotino ad ipsum hortum tali modo et forma. prima namque nocte accipe unam libram lardi spississimi et optimi quam poteris habere, secunda nocte duas, tertia vero tres, et semper ponas dextrum pedem ad canapum, ac projiciendo lardum usque ad medium canapi, vel citra, haec dices verba: "*Alrawn* du vil güet, Mit trawrigem müet Rüef ich dich an, Dastu meinen leidigen man Bringst darzue, Das er mir kein leid nimmer tue."' Tertia igitur nocte cum mulier haec verba replicaret, vetula abscondita in canapo jacebat. prius autem informaverat praedictam mulierem, quod attentissime auscultaret quae sibi tertia nocte dicta *Alrawn* insinuaret. unde in haec verba *sub voce rauca et valde aliena* abscondita in canapo respondebat: "Fraw, du solt haim gan, Und solt güeten müet han, Und solt leiden, meiden, sweigen (bear and forbear and hold thy peace); Thuest du das von allen deinen sinnen, So machtu wol ein güeten man gewinnen." et sic mulier illius vetulae verba imitabatur, et viri amaritudo in dulcedinem et mansuetudinem vertebatur.—The same story in Paulli's Schimpf u. Ernst 1555 cap. 156; a similar in a MHG. poem (Altd. wäld. 3, 160—3) and a nursery-tale (KM. no. 128), where the man, not the wife, consults the hollow tree or spindletree in the garden (p. 652). The form of address 'Alrûn, dû *vil guote*' reminds me of 'si *vil guote*,' said to *frô Sælde* when she cuts out and clothes, Walther 43, 7.

(Pliny's in sublime tolli), washed with red wine, wrapt in silk red and white, laid in a casket, bathed every Friday, and clothed in a new little white smock every new-moon. When questioned, she reveals future and secret things touching welfare and increase, makes rich, removes all enemies, brings blessings upon wedlock, and every piece of coin put to her overnight is found doubled in the morning, but she must not be overloaded. When her owner dies, she goes to the youngest son, provided he puts a piece of bread and a coin in his father's coffin. If he dies before his father, the mandrake passes to the eldest son, who must in like manner with bread and money bury his brother. All these provisions sound ancient, and may date from a long way back. Our OHG. glosses have 'alrûna' for the *mandragora* occurring several times in the Vulgate,[1] Gen. 30, 14 seq., where the Hebrew text reads *dudaim*; but the poetized version in MHG. translates it *erd-ephil*, Diut. 2, 79. Now the *mandragoras* (masc., Gr. *μανδραγόρας*) is thus described in Pliny 25, 13 [94] : 'mandragoram alii Circaeum vocant; duo ejus genera, candidus qui et mas, niger qui femina existimatur . . . cavent effossuri (album) contrarium ventum, et *tribus circulis* antę *gladio circumscribunt*, postea fodiunt ad occasum spectantes.' I find more to my purpose this time in two lines of Columella 10, 19 :

quamvis *semi-hominis* vesano gramine foeta
mandragorae pariat flores, moestamque cicutam.

'Semi-human mandrake' goes very well with our legend, and even 'vesanum gramen' may agree with it more closely than appears from the words. Hildegard also in Phys. 2, 102 says: '*mandragora* de terra de qua Adam creatus est dilatata est, et propter *similitudinem hominis* suggestio diaboli huic plus quam aliis herbis insidiatur. et ideo, cum de terra effoditur, mox in salientem fontem per diem et noctem ponatur.' As the French *mandagloire* stands for mandragore, I conjectured (p. 402) that the fée Maglore may have sprung from Mandagloire; if so, it offers an exact analogy to our Alrûna the wise-woman and alrûna the mandrake, and is not to be despised. I close with an AS. description in Thorpe's Anal. p. 94, probably of the 10-11th cent., which confirms the dog's participation in the act of gathering :

[1] As a fem. pl. mandragorae; the LXX has *μῆλα μανδραγορῶν*, earth-apples.

'þeos wyrt, þe man *mandragoram* nemneð . . . þonne þû tô hire cymst, þonne ongist þû hî bi þâm (wilt know her by this) þe heo on nihte scîneð ealswâ leoht-fæt (as a lamp). þonne þû hire *heáfod* ærest geseo (first see her head), þonne bewrît þû hî wel hraðe mid îserne, þy læs heo þe ætfleo (lest she flee thee). hire mægen (main, might) is swâ micel and swâ mære, þæt heo unclænne man, þonne he tô hire cymeð, wel hraðe forfleon wile. forðy þû hî bewrît, swâ we ær cwædon, mid îserne, and swâ þû scealt onbûtan hî delfan, swâ þû hire mid þâm îserne nâ æt-hrine (touch) : ac þû geornlîce scealt mid ylpenbænenon (ivory) stæfe þâ eorðan delfan, and þonne þû hire *handa* and hire *fêt* geseo, þonne *hundes* gewrîð þû hî (tie her to a dog). nim þonne þone oðerne ende, and gewrîð tô ânes *swiran* (neck), swâ þæt se *hund* hungrig sî, wurp (throw) him siððan mete tô foran, swâ þæt he hine âhræcan (reach) ne mæge, bûton he mid him þâ wyrte upâbrede.' She shines by night like a lamp, has head, hands and feet, must be bewritten with iron lest she escape, is not to be touched with iron, but dug up with an ivory wand: several things betray a Latin origin (bewrîtan circumscribere). It is to be fastened to the dog's neck instead of his tail; conf. Belg. mus. 5, 114 [Josephus Wars 7, 6, 3: root Baaras pulled up by dog]. Pliny ascribes a 'vim somnificam' to mandragoras.

Sæm. 194ª speaks of a *svefn-þorn* (sleep-thorn) with which Oðinn pricks Brynhild, and she goes to sleep, as Dorn-röschen does in the nursery-tale from the prick of a spindle (p. 419). The *thorn-rose* has a meaning here, for we still call a mosslike excrescence on the wild rosebush or the whitethorn *schlaf-apfel* and *schlaf-kunz*; so that the very name of our sleeping beauty contains a reference to the myth. We also use the simple *kuenz* (Schm. 2, 314), which can hardly be Kunz the dimin. of Konrad, but is rather conn. with küenzel, küenzen (gathering under the chin). When placed under a sleeper's pillow, he cannot wake till it be removed[1] (see Suppl.).

This 'sleep-apple' is supposed to be produced by a wasp stinging the thorn; equally rootless, the prophetic *gall-nut* on oaks

[1] *Stinga svefnþorn* occurs in Fornald. sög. 1, 18-9. 3, 303-6. In Tristan sleep is caused by a mere *küsselin* (cushion), Ulr. 1672-93; 'der zouberære küsselîn,' Heinr. 4911. In a fairy-tale (Altd. bl. 1, 145) by *writing* and *letters* (i.e. runes), or by *feathers* off the wild shaggy folk (pp. 433. 486), whom fancy must have pictured as having wings or feathers.

originates in such a puncture, Sup. I, 968; Ital. *gallozza*, Neap. *gliantra*, Pentam. 2, 1: 'tre gliantre mascole.' Growths that could not be traced to seed and root, as probably that *bird's nest* on p. 973, seemed miraculous and endued with magic power: gall-nuts are hung on the kitchen roofbeam to protect the house.

The *mistel* (mistletoe) was accounted specially sacred, being supposed to have fallen from heaven on the boughs of magnificent trees like the oak and ash. OHG. *mistil* (not fem. mistila), Graff 2, 890; MHG. *mistel*, 'jâmers mistel,' Martina 161[d]. With a shoot of this plant the god Baldr was shot dead: when Frigg was exacting an oath from all other plants, this seemed to her too young: 'vex viðar teinûngr einn fyrir austan Valhöll, sá er *Mistilteinn* kallaðr, sá þótti mer ûngr at krefja eiðsins,' Sn. 64; and the Völuspâ sings of it thus, Sæm. 6[b]:

stôð umvaxinn völlom hærri
miór ok miök fagur *Mistilteinn*;

grown high above the field stood the delicate fair mistle-shoot; teinn is a branch shot up, Goth. táins, OHG. zein, and we may safely assume a Goth. mistilatáins, OHG. mistilzein. Now in AS. we find it *mistiltâ*, which may easily be a corruption of *mistiltân*, and the agreement of this with the Eddic mistilteinn would be welcome and weighty; yet 'tâ' may be right after all, and is supported by the Engl. being *mistletoe* [but also misseldine]. In Sweden this evergreen parasite is said to be usually a foot or two feet long, but sometimes to reach the length of three ells (Geijer's Häfd. 1, 330). F. Magn. lex. 512 says, in Vestergötland it is called *ve-spelt*, holy spelt, triticum sacrum. A plant associated with the death of one of their greatest and best-beloved gods must have been supremely sacred to all of Teutonic blood; and yet this opinion of its holiness was shared by Celtic nations. Pliny 16, 44 [95] assures us of the Celtic belief: 'Non est omittenda in ea re et Galliarum admiratio. Nihil habent druidae (ita suos appellant magos) *visco*, et arbore in qua gignatur (si modo sit *robur*), sacratius. Jam per se *roborum* eligunt *lucos*, nec ulla sacra sine ea fronde conficiunt, et inde appellati quoque interpretatione Graeca possint druidae videri. Enimvero quidquid *adnascatur illis, e coelo missum* putant, signumque esse electae ab ipso deo arboris. Est autem id rarum admodum inventu, et repertum

magna religione petitur, et ante omnia sexta luna (quae principia mensium annorumque his facit) et seculi post tricesimum annum, quia jam virium abunde habeat nec sit sui dimidia. *Omnia sanantem* appellantes suo vocabulo, sacrificiis rite sub arbore praeparatis, duos admovent *candidi coloris tauros, quorum cornua tunc primum vinciantur.*[1] Sacerdos *candida veste* cultus *arborem scandit, falce aurea demetit, candido* id excipitur *sago.* Tum deinde victimas immolant, precantes ut suum donum deus prosperum faciat his quibus dederit. Foecunditatem eo poto dari cuicunque animalium sterili arbitrantur, contra venena omnia esse remedio. Tanta gentium in rebus frivolis plerumque religio est.' This elegant description is preceded by other statements, of which I will select one here and there: '*Visci* tria genera. Namque in abiete ac larice *stelin* dicit Euboea nasci, *hyphear* Arcadia, *viscum* autem in quercu, robore, pruno silvestri, terebintho, nec aliis arboribus adnasci, plerique. Copiosissimum in quercu, quod *dryos hyphear* . . . Adjiciunt discrimen, *visco* in his quae folia amittant et *ipsi* decidere, contra inhaerere nato in *aeterna fronde.*[2] Omnino autem satum nullo modo nascitur, nec nisi *per alvum avium redditum,* maxime *palumbis* ac *turdis:* haec est natura, ut nisi maturatum in ventre avium non proveniat. Altitudo ejus non excedit cubitalem, semper frutectosi ac viridis. Mas fertilis, femina sterilis; aliquando non fert.'—With us too a thrush is called *mistler,* Schm. 2, 645 (MHG. mistelære?), Engl. *mistlebird;* and in some other of our myths the *conveyance of the seed by birds* enhances the holiness of the virgin plant (p. 969): there is no human hand at work, and the finger of God is manifest. *Viscum* is the Fr. *gui,* and to this day the veneration for the plant is preserved in the New-year's gratulation *aguilanneuf* (p. 755). In Wales they hang mistletoe *over the doors* at Christmas, and call it (says Davies) *pren awyr,* merry tree, *pren uchelvar,* tree of the high summit, *pren puraur,* tree of pure gold; the second name recalls the 'völlum hærri' of the Edda. But the usual names given for mistletoe are Wel. *olhiach,* Bret. *ollyiach,* Ir. *uileiceach,* Gael. *uileice,* i.e. all-healing

[1] Steers never yoked as yet, steeds never harnessed, RA. 547: a sacred use demands that everything be new.

[2] Virg. Aen. 6, 205: Quale solet silvis brumali frigore *viscum*
fronde virere nova, quod non sua seminat arbos,
et croceo fetu teretes circumdare truncos;
talis erat species auri frondentis opaca
ilice, sic leni crepitabat bractea vento.

[Pliny's omnia sanans], from 'ol, uile,' universal (p. 1213). A Breton lay (Barzas breiz 1, 58. 100) makes Merlin at early morn go fetch the *high branch on the oak* (warhuel, huelvar ann derwen). Our old herbals divide mistletoes into those of the *oak, hazel* and *peartree* (eichen-mistel, heselin-m., birnbäumin-m.), and none of them must be let touch the ground; some, set in silver, they hang round children's necks. In Prussian Samland it is called *wispe* (which looks like viscum, gui, but mistel itself is often confounded with mispel = medlar); it is common on birch, cherry and lime trees, on the hazel it is rare and wonderful. It grows in a straight line out of the trunk, and between its smooth evergreen willow-like leaves it bears berries silvery-white, like peas or small nuts. Where the hazel has a wispe, there is sure to be a treasure hidden (Reusch no. 10). Among Slavs I find the names Boh. melj, gmelj, oméli, Russ. oméla, Pol. iemiel; Lith. amalai, Lett. ahmals; but no legends (see Suppl.).

To viscum may be added two other druidical herbs. Pliny 24, 11 [62-3]: '*Selago* legitur *sine ferro, dextra manu* per tunicam, qua *sinistra* exuitur *velut a furante, candida veste* vestito pureque lotis *nudis pedibus*, sacro facto priusquam legatur pane vinoque; fertur in mappa nova: hanc contra omnem perniciem habendam prodidere druidae Gallorum.—Iidem *Samolum* herbam nominavere nascentem in humidis, et hanc *sinistra* manu legi a jejunis contra morbos suum boumque, *nec respicere* legentem, nec alibi quam in canali deponere, ibique conterere poturis.' The mode of gathering selago is peculiar: it is to be picked with the right hand, not bare, but covered with the tunic (conf. p. 971), then to be drawn out stealthily with the left. In Davies's Br. myth. 280 it is said to be the herb the Welsh call grâs Duw (gratia Dei). Villemarqué thinks it is the *aour géoten* (aurea herba) of Breton songs 1, 58. 96, which you must pull up in the meadows before sunrise, barefoot and bareheaded; it shines far off like gold. It is rarely to be found, and only by holy persons. Some take it for our bärlapp (lycopodium). Samolus is said to be anemone pulsatilla; Davies p. 274 gives its Welsh name as *gwlydd*.

Our *baldrian* is a corruption of *valeriana*, and has nothing to do with Baldr, after whom a very different herb, the anthemis cotula, was named Baldrs brâ (brow), Sw. Baldersbrå, abbrev.

Barbro. But the valerian has a mythical name too, *Velands-urt*, Wayland's wort (p. 377), and its healing virtues are in high repute. The Servians call it *odolián* (from odoliéti to overpower), Boh. *odolèn*; and among the Servian 'Vilinen pièsme' (songs taught by the vila herself) is a saw (Vuk, new ed. 1, 149): 'Da zna zhenska glava, Shto zh' odolián trava, Svagda bi ga brala, U pas ushivala, I za se nosila'; if woman but knew what is herb odolián, she would always get it, in her girdle sew it, and about her wear it. The vila warns us not to neglect this precious herb (see Suppl.).

Henbane (bilsen-kraut), OHG. *pilisa, belisa* (hyos-cyamos), see pp. 593. 1198, and Suppl.

Sowthistle (eberwurz, boarwort), OHG. epurwurz, the carlina acaulis, Carls-distel; growing on hills, close to the ground without a stalk, with silver-white unfading leaves. During a pestilence, Charles the Great had gone to sleep laden with care, when an angel appeared to him in a dream, and bade him shoot an arrow in the air: whatever herb it lighted upon was sovereign against the plague. Charles in the morning shot the arrow, and its point stuck in a sowthistle: they used it for medicine, and the plague disappeared. He that carries this plant about him, let him run ever so long, will never tire; and he can take all the strength out of a companion that walks with him, hence they used to tie some to their horses in a race; when the same was done unperceived to one of a married couple, the other was sure to waste away and die. Sowthistle was also nailed inside the swine-trough, that the pigs might eat over it, whence its name is supposed to have come (W. Menzel's Literaturbl. 1844. pp. 9. 10). The name 'eberwurz' probably rests on other grounds, but 'carlina' seems to be formed on the legend. King Charles often had things told him by angels in dreams, and bad dreams come of fighting with boars; the herb may have healed the gash inflicted by the tusk of a boar (see Suppl.).

Betonica. Pliny 25, 46: 'Vettones in Hispania eam quae *Vettonica* dicitur in Gallia, in Italia autem *serratula*, a Graecis cestros aut psycho-morphon [-trophon?], ante cunctas laudatissima. Exit anguloso caule, cubitorum duûm, a radice spargens folia fere lapathi, serrata, semine purpureo . . . tantum gloriae habet, ut *domus* in qua sata sit *tuta existimetur a piaculis omnibus*

. . . Morsibus imponitur *vettonica*, cui vis tanta perhibetur, ut *inclusae circulo ejus serpentes* ipsae sese interimant flagellando.' Fr. *bétoine*, MHG. *batônie*: 'altiu wîp grabent *patôni*,' MsH. 3, 193ᵇ. 'sô gênt etelîche mit bœsen batânien umb,' Berth. 58. 'ettlich kundent *patoniken* graben,' Superst. G, l. 41. 'die lêr ich *batônien* graben,' Aw. 2, 56. An Italian proverb recommends the purchase of betony at any price: 'venda la tonica, e compra la *bettonica*.' A description in Martina 27ᵃ (Diut. 2, 129), 'diu *gelwe* batênie hol,' seems to contradict the aforesaid purple (of the seed only?). In Switzerland *badönikli* is our fluhblume, cowslip, and herdsmen bring it home for their sweethearts off the Alp, Stald. 1, 124. 386. Apparently several kinds are to be distinguished: Pol. bukwica, Boh. brkwice, is by turns betonica, plantago and primula. The Anglo-Saxons called betonica *biscopwyrt*, from which its sacredness may be inferred (see Suppl.).

Madalgêr stands in OHG. glosses for basilicum, in herbals for senecio as well. The proverb ran, '*Modelgeer* ist aller wurzel ein eer.' In the Westerrich, when a disease breaks out among swine, they chop some of this root in with the pigs' wash, muttering a short prayer: it keeps the schelm from attacking them. As Heime's father in our heroic legend is called *Madelgêr* (p. 387), likewise a mermaid's son who puts on a cloak of darkness (Morolt 40-1); a mythic significance in the plant's name becomes credible (see Suppl.).

In the same way I connect *Mangold*, lapathum, beet, with that ancient name of the giant-maiden who could grind gold (p. 531).

OHG. *faram* filix, MHG. *varm*, *varn*, AS. *fearn*, Engl. *fern*. Pliny 27, 9 [55] tells nothing mythical of the filix. Hildegard's Phys. 2, 91: 'in loco illo ubi crescit, diabolus illusiones suas raro exercet; et domum et locum in quo est, diabolus evitat et abhorret, et fulgura et tonitrua et grando ibi raro cadunt.' A Herbal says: '*farnkraut* is hard to destroy, without ye stub it up on the day of John's beheading, then doth *farn* perish. It seems to bear neither flower nor seed; he that will gather fernseed must be bold and able to daunt the devil. He shall go after it on St John's night before daybreak, light a fire, and spread cloths or broad leaves under the same, so may he take and keep of the seed.' Many fasten fresh fern *over the house-door*, then all goes well as far as the whip on the waggon reaches (about five

paces), Sup. I, 988. In Redeker's Westf. sagen no. 46 we find some details: Fernseed *makes one invisible*, but is difficult to get at: it ripens only between 12 and 1 on Midsummer night, and then falls off directly, and is gone. A man, who on that night happened to be looking for a lost foal, passed through a field where fernseed was ripening, and some fell in his shoes (like the flax-pods, p. 962). Coming home in the morning, he walked into the house, and sat down: he thought it strange that his wife and family took no notice of him. 'Well,' says he, 'I have not found the foal.' All those in the room looked startled: they heard the man's voice, but nothing of him could they see. The wife began calling him by name, so he came and stood in the middle of the room, and said, 'What are you shouting for, when here I stand before you?' The terror was now greater than before; till the man, feeling something hurt his feet, as if shingle had got in his shoes, pulled them off and shook them out; and there he stood visible to every eye. This is the *wünschel-sâmen des varmen* (p. 974). Conrad of Würzburg in a song, MsH. 3, 453ᵃ:

Het ich *sâmen von dem varn*,
den würfe ich dar den scheiden,
daz si 'n verslünden, ê mîn dienest von ir solde scheiden.

'scheiden' are large fish, shad, siluri, and often used punningly (Schm. 3, 324. Höfer 3, 65). Had I seed of the fern, says the lover, I would fling it to yon shadfish to devour, ere my service should fall away from her; apparently the seed might have made his fortune elsewhere, but he gives it up to keep faith with her: there is no reference to invisibility. In Thiers the *fougère* (filix) 'cueillie la veille de la St Jean justement à midi' is said to bring luck in play to him that wears it.

In the Thüringer-wald fern is called *irr-kraut* (stray herb), and by some *atter-kreutich* (adder-herb): if you step over it without seeing it, it so bothers and bewilders you, that you no longer know your whereabouts even in the most familiar parts of the forest. To prevent or correct your straying, you must sit down and put your shoes on the wrong feet, or if a woman, untie your apron and turn it wrong side out; immediately you know your way again (Haupt's Zeitschr. 3, 364. Bechstein's Franken

pp. 269. 286.) No doubt the *puzzle-seed* had got into the shoe or cincture, and fell out when these were taken off. It is said also, if you have *adder-herb* about you, you will be pursued by adders till you have thrown it away. In some parts they call it *Walburgis-kraut*. Its Slavic name is Russ. *páporot*, Pol. *paproć*, O. Boh. *paprut*, now *papradj*, *kapradj*, Slovèn. *praprat*, *praprot*; Lith. *papartis*, Lett. *papardi*. Woycicki 1, 94 also says it blossoms exactly at midnight of St John's eve, and it is a hard matter to get hold of the flower (kwiat paproci), for the picking is attended by storm and thunder; but whoever gets possession of it becomes rich, and can prophesy (see Suppl.).

OHG. *pipôz*, artemisia (Graff 3, 22, but misplaced and misspelt), MHG. *bîbôz* (rhy. grôz), Ls. 2, 526; its corruption into our meaningless *beifuss*, Nethl. *bivoet*, is as early as Gl. Jun. 406 *bifuz*. The word seems pure German, formed from pôzan cudere, like anapôz incus, anvil, MHG. anebôz, our amboss; and we ought to pronounce and spell it beiboss. The meaning must be something like that of beischlag (by-blow), which in the Logau district means a bastard. In OS. it would be bîbôt, which resembles its Lett. name *bihbotes*. Our LG. *buk*, *bucke* seems an abbrev. dimin. of endearment (but-ke);[1] Dan. *bynke*, but Sw. *grâbo*, gray nest. Whoso hath beifuss in the house, him the devil may not harm; hangs the root *over the door*, the house is safe from all things evil and uncanny. On St John's day they gird themselves with beifuss, then throw it in the fire, while spells and rhymes are said (p. 618); hence the names *Johannisgürtel*, *sonnenwend-gürtel*, *gürtel-kraut*, Fr. herbe de S. Jean. They dig the root up solemnly, twine it into wreaths, hang it about them, and each flings it into the flame along with any griefs he may chance to have about him. He that has beifuss on him *wearies not on his way* (Megenberg 385, 16): this is imitated from Pliny 26, 89: '*artemisiam* alligatam qui habet viator negatur lassitudinem sentire;' also the '*Ερμηνείαι παλαιαί* (ed. Sillig p. 212): *ἀρτεμισίαν τὴν βοτάνην εἴ τις ἔχει ἐν ὁδῷ, λύει τὸν κάματον*. The AS. name is *mucgwyrt*, Engl. *mugwort*, *muggon*: 'wiþ miclum gonge ofer land, þylæs he teorige, *mucgwyrt nime him on hand*, oþþe *dô on his scô* þylæs he mêdige; and

[1] Or is it related to Finn. *puyo*, Esth. *poio*, *puiyo*?

þonne he niman wille ær sunnan upgange, cweðe þâs word ærest: tollam te, artemisia, ne lassus sim in via. gesegna hie, þonne þû upteo.' R. Chambers p. 34 gives some Scotch stories of its healing power. A girl in Galloway was near dying of consumption, and all had despaired of her recovery, when a mermaid, who often gave the people good counsel, sang:

Wad ye let the bonnie may die i' your hand,
And the *mugwort* flowering in the land!

They immediately plucked the herb, gave her the juice of it, and she was restored to health. Another maiden had died of the same disease, and her body was being carried past the port of Glasgow, when the mermaid raised her head above the water, and in slow accents cried:

If they wad drink *nettles* in March,
And eat *muggons* in May,
Sae mony braw maidens
Wad na gang to the clay.

Why should not the Goths already have possessed a bibáuts too? That they had significant names of their own for herbs and shrubs, is plain from Ulphilas's translations of the Greek term by a native one: *βάτος*, rubus, becomes *aíhvatundi*, Mk 12, 26. Luke 6, 44. 20, 37, which apparently contains aíhvus equus, tundi fomes (tinder, OHG. zuntara); *συκάμινος báinabagms*, Luke 17, 6, i.e. bone-tree, and to this day we call privet (hartriegel, OHG. hartrugil, harttrugil? Graff 5, 501) bonewood. The reasons of the names are lost to us now (see Suppl.).

Hederich is not an old German word, being formed from the Latin hedera, only instead of ivy it means ground-ivy, Linné's glechoma hederacea, a weed with small blue flowers. Its native name is *gunde-rebe, gundel-rebe, donner-rebe, gunder-mann*, OHG. *gunder-reba*, 'acer' (Graff 2, 354), which cannot mean maple, for it is always classed among herbs. It was reckoned sanative, and a safeguard against sorcery; when cows are first driven out to pasture, they are milked through a *wreath of gundermann*, and whoever wears this on his head can tell who are witches, Sup. I, 462-3. *Gund* points to the ancient valkyr (p. 422); *donner* to the flower's blue colour, and to the Thunder-god. The Lettons too have named it *pehrkones* from the god Pehrkon.

The Boh. ohnica (from ohen, fire) stands for the yellow hederich (hedge-mustard ?) that overspreads whole fields: if you call out 'hederich' to peasant women weeding it, they scold you (see Suppl.).

One kind of *sçabiosa* is named *succisa*, or *morsus diaboli*, *Teufels-biss* or *-abbiss*, Engl. *devil's bit*, Dan. *diävels bid*, Boh. čertkus, čertův kus, Russ. diávolskoye ukushénie [and cherto-gryz, chértov ogryzok]; but also Russ. chértov pálets, devil's thumb, Pol. czartowe żebro, devil's rib. The root is stumpy at the end, as if bitten off. Oribasius says, the devil was doing such mischief with this herb, that the Mother of God took pity, and deprived him of the power; he out of spite *bit the end of the root off*, and it grows so to this day. The man that has it about him, neither devil nor hag has power to hurt. Some say the devil bit it off because he grudged men the use of its healing power. If dug up at midnight of St John's eve, the roots are yet *unbitten*, and chase the devil away. Thrown under the table, it makes the guests fall out and fight (see Suppl.).

Some herbs are called by men's names. *Bertram*, though found even in OHG. as *Perhtram* (Graff 3, 349), MHG. *Berchtram*, Ls. 2, 526, is merely pyrethrum altered to give it a German sound. What seems more remarkable is 'herba *boni Henrici*' (chenopodium), or simply *bonus Henricus*, *gut Heinrich*; *stolz Heinrich*, proud H. (atriplex); *roth Heinrich*, red H., Superst. I, 1002. I account for it by the old beliefs in elves and kobolds, for whom Heinz or Heinrich was a favourite name (pp. 503-4), which was afterwards transferred to devils and witches, and to such demonic beings was ascribed the healing virtue of the herb. Even the legend of Poor Henry, whose origin has never been explored, may have to do with a herb that cured leprosy; and the 'herba boni Henrici' is said to have been used as a remedy for that very disease.

When a universal power to heal all sicknesses was attributed to a herb, the Greeks called it *τὸ πάνακες*, *ἡ πανάκεια* (as the Celts named the mistletoe *olhiach*, *uileiceach*), which got personified itself into a daughter of Asklepios, *Πανάκεια*. In our language we find no plant named all-heil, all-heila, but there is a *selp-heila* (euphrasia), Graff 4, 864, and the herbs *heil-aller-welt* (Achillea, millefolium), *heil-aller-schaden* (supercilium Veneris), as

well as *aller-mann-harnisch* and *neun-manns-kraft*, 9 man power. The significance of the number nine shews itself no less in garlands being made of nine sorts of flowers. *Heil-houbito*, healhead, Graff 4, 759, is hermodactylus, whatever that may be, and another name for it is *hunt-louch*, dog-leek 2, 143 (see Suppl.).

Two herbs commonly coupled together by alliteration are *doste* and *dorânt* (origanum, antirrhinum). OHG. *dosto* (Graff 5, 232) is our real native word for what we now call wilde majoran, thymian (marjoram, thyme), or *wolgemut* (well of mood), Boh. *dobrá-mysl*. For dorânt we have sometimes *orânt*; some think it is not antirrhinum, but marrubium, OHG. *Got-fargezzan*. Both herbs are shunned by the little-wights and nixes; hence the speeches put in their mouths: 'If ye hadn't *dorânt* and *dosten* here, I'd help ye the sooner to sip that beer!' 'Up with your skirts, ye merrimen all, Lest into *dost* and *doránd* ye fall!' 'See that ye bump not against *durânt*, Or we sha'n't get back to our fatherland.' DS. no. 65. Jul. Schmidt p. 132. Redeker no. 45 (see Suppl.).

Along with doste, *hart-heu* (hypericum, St John's wort), otherwise called *hart-hun* (p. 1029n.), will often scare spirits away: 'Marjoram, John's wort, heather white, Put the fiend in a proper fright.' Hypericum perforatum, *fuga daemonum*, devil's flight (see Suppl.).

Widertân (adiantum), formed with the past part. of tuon, to do, afterwards corrupted into *widerthon*, *widertod*: the genuine form is retained by G. Frank (Schm. 4, 34). The Herbal says: Therewith be many pranks played, this we let be as foolery and devilry. 'Tis called *maidenhair* also, and is of fair golden hue. The old wives have many a fancy touching herbs, and say the red steinbrechlin (saxifraga) with small lentil leaves is indeed *abthon*, but the naked maidenhair is *widerthon*, and with these two they can both 'abthon' and 'widerthon' as it please them. Does this mean, remove and restore virility? in that case *abetân* and *widertân* would be opposites, like 'set on' and 'take off' on p. 1074. Frisch 1, 5^{b} has *abthon* trichomanes, polytrichon, and 2, 446^{b} *widerthon* lunaria, thora salutifera (see Suppl.).

Some herbs, plantago and proserpinaca, take their names from growing on the wayside (proserpere) and being exposed to the tread (plantae) of passengers: OHG. *wegarih* (Graff 1, 670), our

wegerich; OHG. *wegapreita*, our wegebreit, AS. *wegbræde*, Engl. *waybrede* [broad, not 'bread'], Dan. *veibred*; OHG. *wegaspreiti*, -spreading (Graff 6, 395). Again, OHG. *wegatreta*, *umbitreta* (Graff 5, 552), our wegetritt; OHG. *wegawarta*, our wegewarte (ward, watch, wait), a name also given to cichorium, succory. There are some myths about it: the herb was once a *maiden* that on the wayside awaited her lover (p. 828), like Sigûne in Tit. 117-8. Paracelsus observes (Opp. 1616. 2, 304), that the flowers of the wegwarte turn to the sun, and their strength is greatest in sunshine, but after seven years the root changes into the *form of a bird* (see Suppl.).

Lauch, OHG. louh, AS. leác (leek), ON. laukr, is a general designation of juicy herbs; some species appear to have been sacred: '*allium* (gar-leek) caepasque *inter deos in jurejurando* habet Aegyptus,' Pliny 19, 6 [32]. When Helgi was born, and his father Sigmundr returned from the battle, it is said in Sæm. 150ª:

sialfr gêck vîsi or vîgrymo
ûngom fœra *îtrlauk* grami.

In Völs. saga cap. 8: 'Sigmundr var þâ kominn frâ orrostu, ok gekk *með einum lauk* îmôt syni sînum, ok hermeð gefr hann honum Helga nafn.' The *îtr-laukr* is allium praestans, allium victoriale: it is not clear whether the king bore it as home-returning victor, or whether it was usual to wear it in giving names. Antiquity sheds no light on either custom.[1] When the drinking-cup was blessed, a *leek* was thrown into it, Sæm. 195ᵇ (see Suppl.).

The sorbus or service-tree is in ON. *reynir*, Sw. *rönn*, Dan. *rönne* (rowan ?): it is a holy shrub, for Thôrr in the river clutched it to save himself, hence it is said: 'reynir er *biörg Thôrs*,' sorbus auxilium Thori est, Sn. 114. In Sweden they still believe that a staff of this rönn defends you from sorcery, and on board ship the common man likes to have something made of rönn-wood, as a protection against storms and watersprites; *flögrönn* is of use in occult science, Afzel. 1, 19 (see Suppl.).

In Servian, *samdokaz* and *okolochep* are herbs which, put in a love-potion, compel the lover to come to his mistress. *Ustuk* is

[1] The Welsh associate their national leek with victory.—Trans.

both a herb and the charm repeated by a sorceress to make a disease depart (ustuknuti), Vuk sub vv.

The Pol. *trojziele* (three-herb) is a marvellous plant with blue leaves and red flowers: it inspires love, makes you forget, and transports you whither you please [1] (see Suppl.).

In the poem of Elegast 763 seq. there occurs a nameless herb, which one need only put in the mouth to understand what the *cocks crow* and the *dogs bark*. Villemarqué says, whoever accidentally steps on the golden herb (p. 1207), falls asleep directly, and understands the speech of *dogs*, *wolves* and *birds*. In another case the knowledge of *birds' language* comes of eating a white snake (p. 982), in the Edda by eating of the dragon's heart. A fairytale makes some one be three years learning what it is that the dogs bark, the birds sing, and the frogs croak [2] (see Suppl.).

2. Stones.

Stones are far less mythical than herbs, though among them also the noble are distinguished from the base. Stones neither grow so livingly, nor are they so accessible, as plants: whilst any shepherd or traveller can approach the flower in field or wood, precious stones are not produced on the surface of our soil, they are wrung from the bowels of the earth, and imported from distant lands. There was a meaning therefore in calling herb-lore heathen, and stone-lore Jewish (p. 1190): Jewish and Moorish merchants fetched the gem from the far East. The miraculous and medicinal power of precious stones was known early in the Mid. Ages, but never was naturalized amongst us, hence also the

[1] Volkslieder der Polen, coll. by W. P., Leipzig 1833, p. 90.

[2] AS. herb-names, when once critically edited from the MSS., promise rich gleanings for mythology, of which I have given several specimens. I will here add a few obscure names: *dweorges dwostle*, dwosle, dwysle (pulegium, pennyroyal), was quoted p. 448, and if conn. with ON. 'dustl,' levis opera, perh. quisquiliæ, and 'dustla,' everrere, it is dwarf's sweepings; *collan-crôg* is achillea or nymphæa, and as 'collen-ferhð' in the poems is proud-hearted, so proud crocus (OHG. kruogo) or crock, pitcher, whichever we take crôg to mean; *ælf-þone*, OHG. alb-dono, our alpranke (bittersweet?); *wulfes comb*, chamaelea; *foxes glôfa*, buglossa, OHG. hrindeszunga, ox-tongue [or, digitalis?]; *hind-heleðe*, paeonia, Engl. hind-hele, appar. 'cervam celans, defendens,' conf. 'heleðe, heolað' (it is spelt both ways) with heloð-helm p. 463, and beáh-heloðe quoted by Lye; *cneow-holen*, now ruscus, now victoriale, i.e. herba victorialis, idaea daphne, Engl. kneeholly, kneeholm; *hwâtend*, iris illyrica, suggestive of 'hwâtunga,' omina, auguria; *geormen-leáf*, *eormen-leáf*, *georman-leafa*, *hoc-leafa* (Haupt's Zeitschr. 9, 406), malva, would in OHG. be irman-loup (p. 351-2). The OHG. names in Graff 1, 1050-1. 3, 863—72 are less interesting, and less perfectly preserved (see Suppl.).

very few Teutonic names for them, or legends about them: a fact which goes to confirm the home character of our plant-myths. The widely circulated works of Marbod, Evax, Albertus Magnus and others on precious stones have left as little of lasting legend among the people as Walahfried or Macer Floridus, who in the dry learned fashion of physicians treat of herbs. Even Pliny's account in his 36th book seems to have had no effect at all on our superstitions.[1]

Yet a few time-honoured myths there are. The Edda names a holy *iarkna-steinn*, Sæm. 137^{b}. 139^{a}. 213$_{a}$. 238^{d}, which in the Cauldron-raid was thrown into the hot water, and which the cunning smith Völundr could manufacture out of children's eyes. The AS. *eorcan-stân* glosses both 'margarita' and 'topazion'; in Cod. Exon. 73, 27. 238, 12. 478, 7 it has the general sense of precious-stone (eorcnan-stân is appar. a corruption). A corresponding Goth. *aírkna-stáins*, OHG. *erchan-stein* may safely be assumed, as 'aírknis' actually means genuine, holy, and 'erchan' survives in similar compounds (Graff 1, 468). But it seems to be the oval milk-white opal, otherwise called *orphanus, pupillus*, MHG. *weise* (orphan), and so precious that it graced the crown royal of Germany. Albertus M. says: '*Orphanus* est lapis qui in corona Romani imperatoris est, neque unquam alibi visus est, propter quod etiam orphanus vocatur. Est autem colore vinosus, subtilem habens vinositatem, et hoc est sicut si candidum nivis candens seu micans penetraverit in rubeum clarum vinosum, et sit superatum ab ipso. Est autem lapis perlucidus, et traditur quod aliquando fulsit in nocte, sed nunc tempore nostro non micat in tenebris. Fertur autem quod honorem servat regalem.' If the OHG. *weiso* had already had the sense of the stone, it would hardly fail to appear in the glosses. We find it in full play in the MHG. poets, ever since the tale was told of how in distant land Duke Ernst with his sword cut it out of the living rock, and presented it as a gift to the king (ll. 3604—23 and 5543 of the Lay, and in Odo's Latin poem 6, 357). 'Philippe setzen *weisen* ûf!' Walth. 9, 15. 'schouwe wem der *weise* ob sîme nacke stê, der stein ist aller fürsten leitesterne,' Walth. 19, 3; conf.

[1] Look at the lifeless inventories in Parz. 791 and Fragm. 45^{c}. More interesting is a poem by Stricker (in Hahn 44—52); and *Eraclius* was deep in stone-lore, Massm. pp. 468—78.

Helbl. 2, 881. 'der künec alsô den *weisen* hât,' Ms. 1, 15ª. 'wie si durch den berc har wieder kâmen, dâ sie der krône *weisen* inne nâmen,' Ms. 2, 138ª. 'den *weisen* ie vil hôhe wac (prized) der keiser und daz rîche, dur daz (because) nie sîn gelîche wart unter manigem steine,' Troj. 20. 'ich stich im abe den *weisen*,' Otto bart. 314; see also passages in Heinr. von Krolewiz V. U., coll. in Lisch p. 208. Albert and Conrad account for the name, by the stone having no equal, and standing like an orphan cut off from kin; so the gloss on Sspgl 3, 60. The Spanish crown once had a magnificent pearl, which was likewise named *huerfana* or *sola*, and perished at the burning of the palace in 1734. A diamond mounted by itself is in French *solitaire*. But a deeper, a mythical meaning becomes apparent, which Haupt in his Zeitschr. 7, 278 disputes. Pupillus means first a little one, a boy under age, a ward, and then acquires the sense of orphan. Pupilla and κόρη signify a girl and the pupil of the eye, in which a child's image is supposed to be seen (p. 1080). Now as Völundr fashions the iarknasteinn of the eyes of slain children, the stone might be called either pupilla or pupillus, and so agree with our 'orphanus,' thus erchanstein comes to be 'weise.' Of Thiassi's eyes were made shining stars, all stars are gems of the sky; from this the transition to the sparkling stone was easy enough. Heinr. von Krolewiz, describing the sky as a house, again brings the eyes into connexion with the orphan, ll. 1194. 1203-16 (see Suppl.).

The *pearl*, already in dreams a prognostic of the tear, is made in the myth to spring out of Venus's tear, as Freyja's tears turned into *drops of gold* (p. 1194)[1]; and Wäinämöinen's tears fall into the sea as *pearls*, Kalew. rune 22. The pearl then is either metal or stone. Our ancestors regarded it as a stone found in the sea, hence eorcanstân too may have meant pearl, and even the Latin name *unio* approaches that notion of the incomparable orphan: 'in tantum ut *nulli duo* reperiantur *indiscreti*, unde nomen *unionum* Romanae imposuere deliciae,' Pliny 9, 35 [56]. 'ideo

[1] Not only does Freyja's tear turn into gold, but a Greek myth makes ἤλεκτρον arise from the tears of Phaëthon's sisters, daughters of the Sun, be that substance *gold* or *amber*, succinum. For amber, Tacitus and Pliny already know a German word *glesum*, Gramm. 1, 58; an ON. name is *rafr*, Sn. 156, Sw. *raf*, Dan. *rav*; AS. glosses have *eolhsand* (in Mone 1106 eolcfang); conf. Werlauff's learned treatise on amber (bernstein), Schlesw. 1840 (see Suppl.).

uniones dictos quia *nunquam duo simul* reperiantur,' Isid. or. 16, 10. Pliny goes on: 'nam id (nomem unionum) apud Graecos non est, ne apud barbaros quidem inventores ejus aliud quam *margaritae*.' If *margarita*, μαργαρίτης was the word commonly used by barbarian pearl-fishers, the Greeks and Romans may have this time borrowed a word from Teutonic races, in whose language the OHG. *marigreoz*, MHG. *mergriez*, OS. *merigriota*, AS. *meregreot*, *meregrot* is perfectly intelligible, meaning grit or pebble of the sea. It is true we now find the Goth. *markreitus*, 1 Tim. 2, 9, imitated from μαργαρίτης, and that with consonant-change; and to correspond to this the OHG. should have been *marchrîz*. Either OHG., OS. and AS. all strove to accommodate the foreign word to our idiom (which usually happens in one dialect, not in three at once), or the Goth had no 'marigriuts' in his own language, or did not choose to write it, and so imitated the outlandish term, which is now stowed away in our female name Gret-chen. The OHG. *perala*, *berala*, AS. *pearl*, is appar. from beryllus, and again transfers the notion of gemmula to the growth in the shellfish. We might also put by the side of margarita the Skr. marakata, though that signifies, and is directly allied to, σμάραγδος, μάραγδος (emerald).

As erchanstein sprang out of the human eye, and the pearl out of the oyster, the medieval fancy seems to have been excited by some other precious stones which grew in or out of animals. What Marbod cap. 24 tells of the *lyncurius* may be read at greater length in Rudlieb 3, 101—127: these brilliant lynx-stones likewise befit the finger-ring of the queen, the crown of the king. Some legends speak of stones of power engendered in the head of the *cock*, the *adder*, the *toad*. Inside the body of a castrated *cock* of three years grows the *alectorius*, Marbod cap. 3: 'Invictum reddit lapis hic quemcunque gerentem, Extinguitque sitim patientis in ore receptus.' The MHG. poem fixes the capon's age at seven, Albertus at nine years. But a poem in the Vienna Cod. 428 no. 136 (Hahn's Stricker p. 48) names the *snake-stone* as the right one to bestow *victory*:

ich hœre von den steinen sagen,
die *natern* und *kroten* tragen (adders and toads bear),
daz grôze tugend dar an lige (great virtue therein lies),
swer si habe, der gesige (who has them, conquers);

mohten daz *sigesteine* wesen (if these be victory-stones),
sô solt ein wurm vil wol genesen,
der's in sînem lîbe trüege,
daz in nieman erslüege

(the reptile itself ought to live long, and never get killed); and the *cock-stone* as that which allays thirst:

man sagt von *hanensteinen*,
swer ir in munt nem' einen,
daz er guot vür den durst im sî.

The sacred *snake*, the *adder*, who wears crowns of gold (p. 686) and jewels (Gesta Rom. ed. Keller pp. 68. 152), seems to have a better right to the stone of victory than the cock. Albertus mentions a stone *borax*, which the toad wears on its head, but he says nothing about its procuring victory: '*borax* lapis est, qui ita dicitur a *bufone*, quod in capite ipsum portat,' Otnit, Mone 557-8. In Ettm. p. 91 the toad is characterized as *Hebrew*:

ez ist ûz dem garten ein Abrahemsche krot (conf. p. 1241),
swenne diu gewehset, sie bringet einen stein
daz diu sunne ûf erden niht bezzers überschein.

The Dresden poem says more explicitly, that the stone grows on him, and is of all stones the highest. The Pentameron 4, 1 says, the *preta de lo gallo* grows in the cock's head, and is a *wishing-stone*, by which you can obtain anything. The Oriental fable of the three lessons taught by the captive bird (Reinh. cclxxxi. Ls. 2, 655) alludes to such a stone growing in the heart or crop of a lark or nightingale. The daughter of Sigurðr grikr steals the *stone of victory* out of his pocket while he sleeps, and gives it to Dietleib (Vilk. s. cap. 96-7); such a one had king Nidung too (cap. 25), but neither passage specifies the kind of stone. Vintler (Sup. G, l. 89) does not describe his *sigelstein*, but we find elsewhere that it could artificially, and in secret, be blown like glass, cast like metal; Seifr. Helbl. 4, 124 says of conspirators: 'ze samen si dô sâzen, sam (as if) sie einen *sigstein bliesen*'; and Mich. Behaim 22, 11: 'gar taugenlichen vor dem rat zusamen giengen fru und spat, pis sy *gussen ain sigelstain*.' Acc. to Hagen's Cölner chron. 1003 the stone wherewith to conquer means the *diamond*. When the poets tell of fingerrings

that lend victory, that make invisible (e.g. Troj. 9198), their power always comes of the *stone* set in them. Marbod cap. 27 on *gagathromeus*: 'Quem qui gestarit dux pugnaturus in hostem, Hostem depulsum terraque marique fugabit' (see Suppl.).

The *ceraunius* (κεραυνίας) that falls from heaven is mentioned by Marbod cap. 28: 'Qui caste gerit hunc, a fulmine non ferietur, Nec domus aut villae quibus affuerit lapis ille.' What he adds: 'Crystallo similem *Germania* mittere fertur, Coeruleo tamen infectum rutiloque colore' is derived from Pliny 37, 9, 51: 'est inter candidas et quae *ceraunia* vocatur, fulgorem siderum rapiens, ipsa crystallina, splendoris coerulei, in *Germania* nascens,' though the received text has Carmania. There can be no question about the *thunderstone* being German (p. 179); and *Miölnir*, like the *hein* (p. 903 n.) that Oðinn hurled, or that which lodged in Thôr's head (p. 375), is sure to have been hallowed above all stones. Miölnir sounds remarkably like the Slavic names for lightning, *molniya, munya*; this last the Servian songs personify into *Munya*, and represent as sister to *Thunder* (Grom), and bride of the Moon (Mièsets, masc., Vuk 1, 151-4 new ed.), which jumps with our personification of *Hammer* (p. 181. 999). So much the more is Molniya identical with Miölnir. The Romans too must have regarded the thunderbolt, silex, as a 'Jovis lapis': *Lapidem silicem* tenebant juraturi per Jovem, haec verba dicentes, 'Si sciens fallo, tum me Dispiter, salva urbe arceque, bonis ejiciat, ut ego hunc lapidem!' Those about to take an oath fetched out of the temple of Juppiter Feretrius a staff and '*lapidem silicem* quo foedus ferirent,' exactly as covenants were hallowed by Thôr's hammer. Acc. to Livy 1, 24, when a swine was sacrificed, it was struck with this stone: 'Tu illo die, Jupiter, populum Romanum sic ferito, ut ego hunc porcum hic hodie feriam, tantoque magis ferito, quanto magis potes pollesque': id ubi dixit, porcum saxo silice percussit. This is like our malediction, 'Hammer strike thee!' The Finns in like manner called the thunderbolt *Ukonkivi*, stone of Ukko the progenitor; the Indians *hîra, hîraka, Indra's thunderstone* (Pott's Etym. for. 2, 421) or *vajra*, which means at once thunderbolt and diamond. As this makes it partake the nature of the brightest of stones, our fathers saw in it the hard flint, the Romans the silex; myth and superstition alike accord to it the noblest powers: '*malleum* aut *silicem aërium*,

ubi puerpera decumbit, obvolvunt candido linteo contra infestationem fearum, albarum feminarum, strygum, lamiarum,' Gisb. Voetii sel. disput. theol., Ultraj. 1651. 3, 121 (see Suppl.).

As there is supposed to be a *philosopher's stone* (lapis sapientum), that imparts wisdom, or the art of making gold and prolonging life (*ôska-steinn*, wishing-stone, p. 144), Scandinavia also had its legend of the *lîf-steinn*. In Kormakssaga cap. 12, p. 116-8 Bersi wears one on his neck, which brings him succour in swimming (see Suppl.).

Only large stones, such as mountains and rocks, are named after gods, heroes or giants, who dwell upon them, or have hurled them; rarely particular species of stone, at all events no healing ones. A certain slate indeed was called giant's bread, *jyvrikling* (p. 546), a tufa *näckebröd* (p. 489), a coal-stone *Surtarbrandr* (p. 809).

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

SPELLS AND CHARMS.

A yet stronger power than that of herb or stone lies in the spoken *word*, and all nations use it both for blessing and cursing.[1] But these, to be effective, must be choice, well knit, rhythmic words (verba concepta), must have *lilt* and *tune*; hence all that is strong in the speech wielded by priest, physician, magician, is allied to the forms of poetry.

Expressions for 'saying, singing' pass into the sense of 'conjuring': *ἀοιδή* (p. 899) becomes *ἐπαοιδή*, Od. 19, 457, *ἐπῳδή*, our 'sprechen, singen' become *besprechen, besingen*, schwören (Goth. svaran = respondere) *beschwören* (Goth. bisvaran *ὁρκίζειν*); so jurare *conjurare*, cantare *incantare*. The OHG. *galstar*, AS. *galdor*, gealdor, ON. *galdr* (incantatio) have sprung out of galan = canere; the AS. *spell*, strictly dictum, fabula, Goth. spill, was tortured into meaning magic spell [and *charm*, Fr. *charme* is from carmen].

Opposed to blessing is cursing, to the wholesome the hurtful. For the former the Goth still used his native word *þiuþeins εὐλογία*, from þiuþjan *εὐλογεῖν*; the OHG. *segan* dicatio, dedicatio, benedictio, comes from Lat. signum, the AS. segen meant merely signum in the sense of flag; MHG. *segen*, like our own, stands for magic as well. *Κακολογεῖν* is in Ulph. ubil-qiþan maledicere, but flêkan simply plangere, while the OHG. *fluochôn* (MHG. vluochen, our fluchen) is already maledicere, imprecari, and *fluoh* maledictio (masc., quite distinct from fem. fluoh, rupes). OS. farflôcan maledicere, harm-quidi maledictum. Another word is OHG. *farhuâzan*, MHG. *verwâzen*[2] detestari, condemnare, appar.

[1] Pliny 28, 2 [3—5] examines the force of '*verba et incantamenta carminum*' in many striking examples.

[2] '*Var hin verwâzen* (begone, with a curse to you), vil gar *verteilter* snê!' Ms. 1, 23ᵃ. 'nu *var* von mir *verwâzen*' and 'êweclich *verlorn!*' Ls. 3, 77. '*var* von mir *verstôzen!*' MsH. 3, 441ᵇ.

allied to AS. 'hwâtung divinatio,' Poenit. Ecgb. 2, 23. 4, 19. AS. *wergan* (misspelt wirgan, wyrgan) maledicere, detestari, strictly damnare, Goth. vargjan, OS. waragian. AS. *cursian*, Engl. *curse*. The ON. *bœn* precatio, AS. *bên* (p. 31) both border on imprecatio (see Suppl.).

Cursing, 'becrying, becalling,' may indeed be done aloud, but as a rule both blessing and cursing require soft murmured whispered speech. OHG. *huispalôn* sibilare, Graff 4, 1239, AS. *hwistlian*, as whistling and hissing are imputed to the serpent who fascinates; MHG. *wispeln*: 'wispeln wilde vogel zemt, hunde ez letzet und lemt,' Renn. 22370; the asp will hear no *wispelwort*, Ms. 2, 202^{b}; 'aller würmel (insects') *wispel* unde *mürmel*,' Mart. 74^{c}, for *murmeln* is the same thing too, OHG. *murmulôn*, *murmurôn*, our mummeln, mompeln, to mumble. Paul. Diac. 1, 13 in describing manumissio per sagittam, adds: '*immurmurantes*, ob rei firmitatem, quaedam patria verba,' a Langobardic hallowing spell.[1] Similar expressions are OHG. *mutilôn*, Graff 2, 707, and our *protzeln*, *pretzeln*, *pröpeln*, signifying first the sound of water simmering, and then very appropriately the muttering of a spell: '*protzeln* and *wispeln* over the sick man' is to mutter a charm or blessing; in some parts *prebeln*, Nethl. *preevelen*; Franke's Weltb. 134^{a} has *pretzeln* (see Suppl.).

But the most legitimate and oldest word of all is the Goth. *runa*, commonly the equivalent for *μυστήριον*, sometimes for *βουλή*, *συμβούλιον*. I believe it meant in the first place what is spoken softly and solemnly, then secondly a mystery: *συμβούλιον* is secret counsel. From secret speech to secret writing is but a step, as the ON. mâl means both speech and sign. For *γραφή*, *γράμμα* Ulph. always puts mêl, not runa, because none of the passages happen to speak of secret writing; one might wager that runa was the familiar term for this, as the early Franks had rûna = litera. OHG. rûna, AS. rûn, character magicus, mysterium, Cædm. 211, 12. 250, 6. 262, 9, this last with an obvious reference to 'bôcstafas' in 262, 7. ON. rûn litera, but runa linea, which coexistence of *û* and *u* assures us of a strong verb 'riúna, raun, runum,' whence also raun (tentamen, experiment), reyna (tentare), perh. reynir (service or rönn tree, p. 1215). The

[1] Ter novies carmen magico *demurmurat* ore, Ov. Met. 14, 57.

OHG. *rûnên* susurrare, *rûnazan* murmurare, MHG. *rûnen*, our *raunen*, AS. *rûnian*, Engl. *round*, keep the original meaning of secret whispering, and OHG. ôr-rûno is a confidant, one who rounds things in your ear. The ON. transitive rŷna is secretum scrutari, literas scrutari, and supplies the link to raun above. In Ben. 378 *sanfte rûnen* stands opposed to public singing. Finn. *runo* is a song (p. 901). And now a term that has often come before us becomes perfectly clear, and what is more, proves a good fit all round: the wise-woman of the ancient Germans is called *Aliruna*, because she is *alja-runa*, and speaking secret words not understood of the common folk, has skill at once in writing and in magic; hers is the Gothic runa, hers the AS. rûncræft. *Ali* can only mean 'other (than common), strange, not vulgar and profane,' and thus heightens the meaning of runa. And this name of the heathen priestesses could easily be transferred to the holy herb (p. 1202) which perhaps pertained to their ritual.

The olden time divided runes into many classes, and if the full import of their names were intelligible to us, we might take in at one view all that was effected by magic spells. They were painted, scratched or carved, commonly on *stone* or *wood*, 'run-stones, runstaves'; *reeds* served the same purpose (p. 1083-4). The OHG. *hahalrûna*, *îsrûna*, *lagorûna* are named after the letters 'hahal, îs, lago'; *clofrûna* and *stofrûna* remain doubtful, the latter appar. the mere tip (stupf, apex). *Hellirûna* means necromancy, death-rune, and plainly refers to Halja, Hella; I connect with it our *höllen-zwang*, control over hell, by which is understood the mightiest of magic spells, such as Doctor Faust possessed. *Holzrûna* is to be taken not of a thing, but of a person, the wood-wife, lamia (p. 433), not without some allusion to her moaning and muttering. The OHG. women's names Kundrûn, Hiltirûn, Sigirûn, Fridurûn, Paturûn, are properly those of valkyrs, but also traceable to a non-personal *kundrûna*, *hiltirûna*, *sigirûna*, *fridurûna*, *paturûna*; and it is worth noticing, that the personal names lack the final *-a*, and are consigned to a different declension. From the MHG. knierûnen (to croon over one's knee), MS. 2, 137ª, may be inferred a subst. *knierûne*. The AS. *beadorûn*, Beow. 996 is litera belli=bellum, rixa; while *helrûne* 324 and *burgrûne* (p. 404n.) are a personal furia, parca, death's messenger; a gloss in Lye puts it for pythonissa. In

Sæm. 194-5 Sigrdrîfa, i.e. Brynhildr, herself a valkyr, enumerates to Sigurð the runes which it was most needful for her to know: the goblet she hands him is 'fullr *lioða* ok *líknstafa*, gôðra *galdra* ok *gamanrûna*,' full of lays and leech-staves, good spells and runes of bliss. She goes on to name *sigrûnar*, *ölrûnar*, *biargrûnar*, *brimrûnar*, *málrûnar*, *hugrûnar*, runes of victory, of ale, of the rock, the sea, speech and thought. I am only doubtful as to ölrûn, because the proper name *Ölrûn* is evidently the Aliruna of Tacitus; we can scarcely derive all the alirûnes from alus, ölr, ale, and I would rather hazard a guess, either that Ölrûn stands for Elrûn, Elirûn, having got confounded with ölrûn, or that the *û* of the second syllable converted the *a* of the first into *ö* [quite the rule in declension and conjugation, not in composition]. In Sæm. 165^{b} *sakrûnar* contentiones. Danish folksongs often speak of *ramme runer*, powerful runes 1, 235. 280. 2, 33. 3, 335. 4, 47 (see Suppl.).

Oðinn passed for the inventor of all runes (p. 181-2), and in him is lodged the greatest command of *words*. Yngl. saga cap. 7: 'þat kunni hann enn at gera með *ordum einum* (do by words alone), at slöckva eld ok kyrra siâ, ok snûa vindum. Oðinn vissi of allt iarðfê, hvar fôlgit var (earth-fee, where it was hid), ok hann kunni þau lioð, er upplaukz fyrir hönum (unlocked itself to him) iörðin ok biörg ok steinar ok haugarnir, ok *batt* (bound) hann með *ordum einum* þâ er fyrir biuggu (dwelt), ok gekk (went) inn ok tôk þar slîkt er hann vildi.' Afzelius in Sagoh. 1, 4 mentions, too briefly and indistinctly, a strange Swedish folk-tale of one Kettil Runske of Kettilsås in Alsheda, who stole *Odin's rune-sticks* (runekaflar), and with them cast a spell on his hounds and bulls, nay at last on the merwoman that would have come to Odin's aid. By this Odin seems to be meant a shepherd or giant representing the former god; the surname *runske* evidently has to do with the acquisition and possession of the staves.

Songs and *runes* then can do very great things. They are able to kill and bring to life, as well as prevent from dying; to heal or make sick, bind up wounds, stanch blood, alleviate pain, and lull to sleep; quench fire, allay the sea-storm, bring rain and hail; to burst bonds, undo chains and bolts, open mountains or close them up, and unlock treasures; to forward or delay a birth;

to make weapons strong or soft, dull the edge of a sword; loop up knots, loose the bark off a tree (p. 1085), spoil a crop (fruges excantare); call up evil spirits and lay them, to bind thieves. These wonders lie in the very nature of poesy (p. 907-8). The Rûnatal, Sæm. 28—30, specifies eighteen effects of runes (see Suppl.).

Curses, imprecations have a peculiar force of their own. Our MHG. poets have '*tiefe* fluochen,' deeply, Ms. 2, 188ᵃ; '*swinde* fluochen,' vehemently, Helbl. 2, 518 and *zorn-vluoch*, wrath-curse 1, 656. Full of meaning is the phrase: 'ich brach des vluoches *herten kiesel*,' I brake yon curse's stubborn flint, MsH. 2, 339ᵇ, its action is hard as pebbles, and not easy to break. Walther says 73, 29:

Zwêne *herzelîche flüeche* kan ich ouch,
die fluochent nâch dem willen mîn.
hiure müezen's beide esel und der gowk
gehœren, ê si enbizzen sîn.
wê in (woe to them) denne, den vil armen!

(two round curses ken I eke, hitting whomso I bespeak; them both ass and gowk shall hear, ere they baited be this year, etc.). Curses received on an empty stomach are the more effectual. It is the vulgar opinion in Ireland that a curse once uttered must alight on something: it will *float in the air* seven years, and may descend any moment on the party it was aimed at; if his guardian angel but forsake him, it takes forthwith the shape of some misfortune, sickness or temptation, and strikes his devoted head. So in the Pentam. 2, 7 a curse takes wing, and mounts to heaven: '*mesero* le' mardettiune dessa vecchia *l'ascelle*, che *saglíettero subeto 'n cielo*.' When a horse has been cursed, his hair is thought to be luminous: 'a cavallo iastemmiato luce lo pilo,' ibid.

Specimens of the most vigorous cursing might be picked out of our old poetry; one in the Edda, Sæm. 144ᵃ,

nio röstom er þû skyldir neðar vera,
ok vaxi þer â baðmi barr!

may remind us of the phrases culled from our common people's talk, pp. 181-2. 952n. In a minnesong, Ben. 82: 'der nider schar, daz die *vor kilchen* lægen!' the low set, may they lie out-

side of church (in unconsecrated ground),[1] 'der bluomen schîn sol iemer sîn von ir gewalt gescheiden,' put out of their reach. The runes on a tombstone will occasionally end with a curse against him that shall roll away or remove the stone: 'at ryði sa verði (may he turn to rust) sa stain þansi velti!' So Latin deeds of the Mid. Ages wind up with imprecations on the violator, but scriptural ones pronounced by the church.

Here is a string of curses from a MHG. poem: 'God from thee thy wife release! Fish, fowl, worm, beast and man Storm the stronghold of thy peace! Where'er thou go, Be grace thy foe! All good women's greeting shun thee! Thy seed, thy crop be cankered too, The curse that dried Gilboa's dew Rest upon thee!' MsH. 3, 52 (see Suppl.).

Though as a rule sowing is to be accompanied by prayer and blessing, there are some plants that *thrive* better *under cursing*: 'Nihil ocimo (basil) foecundius, *cum maledictis ac probris serendum* praecipiunt, ut laetius proveniat, sato pavitur terra. Et cuminum qui serunt, *precantur ne exeat*,' Pliny 19, 7 [36].[2] 'Napos serere nudum volunt, *precantem* sibi et vicinis serere se,' 18, 13 [35].

To adjure solemnly is in OHG. *munigôn* inti *manôn* (hortari et monere), AS. *mynegian* and *manian*: 'sîs *bimunigôt* thuruh then himilisgon Got, *bisuoran* thuruh thes forahta (fear of Him), ther alla worolt worahta!' O. iv. 19, 47. 'ih *bimuniun* dih' begins the formula in Spell VII. Even in MHG.: 'des wart vil manec wilder geist von ir *gemuniet* und *gemant*,' Troj. 10519 (see Suppl.).

Hellirûna, necromantia, shews itself in the lays sung after the heathen fashion *on graves* and *barrows*, to make the dead speak or send something out. The Indiculus superst. distinguishes between 'sacrilegium ad sepulcra mortuorum' and 'sacrilegium super defunctos, id est *dadsisas*.' Dâd is for dôd, dêd (conf. nêdfyr, nôdfyr, p. 603-4); the OS. *sisas* I take to be the OHG. *sisuwâ* neniae, of which the sing. would be sisu, siso: *sisesang* is

[1] A surname Outkirk must have meant the Excommunicated: Rudolphus de Solodoro cognomine *vor chilchun*, Hartmannus dictus *vor kilchon* (A.D. 1260). Solothurner wochenbl. 1827, pp. 128. 160.

[2] Fischart's Garg. 244b: 'diss fürmans gebett treibt schif und wagen, ein hauptmansfluch etzt durch neun harnisch. ich könt dannoch wol basilien, quendel und kressen setzen, dann dieselben vom fluchen gedeien. darumb wards jenes mannes entschuldigung vor dem richter, warumb er sein weib gereuft hette, nemblich darumb weil er hat rauten setzen müssen'; his excuse for thrashing his [illegible] was, he had to plant some rue.

carmen lugubre, Diut. 2, 283[b]. Graff 6, 281, and an OS. form of confession has 'ik gihôrda (heard) hetlunnussia endi unhrênia (unclean) *sespilon,*' perh. for sese-spilon, dirge-spells; the same obscure root appears in proper names Sisebutus, Sisenandus, etc., etc., Gramm. 2, 476. *Hetlunnussia* must mean imprecations, conf. OS. hatol dirus, Hel. 110, 8 and OHG. hazzal malitiosus, Gl. Hrab. 957[a]. Neniae are carmina funebria, hymns in honour of the dead; Britferthi vita Dunstani (b. 925) cap. 1 (Acta sanct. 19 May) says of that saint: *'avitae gentilitatis* vanissima didicisse *carmina,* et historiarum frivolas colere *incantationum nenias.'* In the same way Greg. Tur. mirac. 2, 1: 'ad vicum in quo fanatici erroris *naeniae* colebantur.' An AS. *byrgensang* translates epitaphium, and Mone's Glosses 943-4 give *licsang, licleoð* epicedium, *byriensang, bergelsleoð, byrgleoð* carmen super tumulum. Hroswitha's Proterius says of an adjuration: 'supra *gentilis tumulum* sub tempore noctis *stans,* herebi domino suplex.' The ON. expression is *val-galdr* qveða, to say corpse-incantation, Sæm. 94[a]: by it Oðinn compelled the vala, on whom snow and rain and dew had fallen (p. 314), to rise from her barrow and answer him. Grôa's son and Hervör utter formulas almost identical: 'vaki þû Grôa! vaki þû gôð kona! vek ek þik dauðra dura,' Sæm. 97[a]; 'vaki þû Angantŷr! vekr þic Hervör einka dôttir ykkar Svâfu (of thee and Svâfa),' Fornald. sög. 1, 435; after a gruesome conversation with her father, the sword she craves is thrown out of the barrow. In the same way, at the son's adjuration, a sword is handed out of the tomb in the folksong of Orm (Sv. fornsånger 2, 446-7. Danske viser 1, 59. 60-6-7), and in a Faröe song of Virgar, i.e. Wudga, Witege (Lyngbye p. 369). Wolfdietrich constrains the dead tongue of his buried father to utter seven words, Cod. Dresd. 313 (see Suppl.).

As the spoken spell bursts open the tomb, so do locks and bars give way before it. Ferabras 2759:

> Venc a l'us de la cambra, si la trobat tancada,
> et *a dit son conjur*: tota s'es desfermada.

Though the following passage in Meier Helmbrecht 1205 mentions only the act of approaching, the cattle-stealer must, as he drew near, have uttered some unloosing spell:

> Mîn geselle Wolves-drüzzel (-throttle, -throat)

ûf tuot er âne slüzzel (opens without key)
alliu slôz und îsenhalt (bolts and iron staples)
in einem jâr hân ich gezalt (counted)
hundert îsenhalte grôz,
daz ie daz slôz dannen schôz (aye the bolt shot out of them,
als er *von verre gie dar zuo* (from far came towards them);
ros, ohsen und manic kuo,
die ungezalt sint beliben,
die er ûz dem hove hât getriben,
daz ie daz slôz von sîner stat (from its place)
schôz, *swann er dar zuo trat* (when he stept thereto).

Even now some thieves and sharpers have the reputation of being able to 'bespeak' their chains and locks, and make them burst.

Gods and daemons could of their mere might raise wind and storm, magicians did the same by means of song. Saxo Gram. p. 71 has a certain Oddo, 'vir magicae doctus, ita ut absque carina altum pererrans hostilia saepe navigia *concitatis carmine procellis* everteret.' These tempestarii have been dealt with, p. 638. Again: 'carminibus in nimbos solvere coelum,' ibid. 17. But song could turn away storm and hail, as well as draw it on: 'cum averti *carmine* grandines credant plerique, cujus verba inserere non equidem serio ausim,' Pliny 17, 28 [47].

As the whole of sorcery sank into the hands of old wives, and the faith of bygone times was called *kerlînga villa*, Sæm. 169, *alter wîbe troume*, Turl. Wh. 1, 82ª, *γραώδεις μῦθοι*, 1 Tim. 4. 7, in Gothic 'us-alþanáizô spilla'; the healing formulas handed down from the past fared no better. Already in the 12th cent. the Miracula S. Matthiae (by a Benedictine of Treves) expresses itself thus, cap. 34: 'cujus dolore mater affecta medicinam et *anilia* adhibuit *carmina*,' Pez. thes. anec. 2, 3 p. 234 (see Suppl.).

These superstitious formulas are a gain to the history of our mythology, they yield information about deities and practices of heathenism, which but for them would be utterly lost. Even books by churchmen find room for them, because their use in certain cases, diseases of cattle for instance, was still considered lawful and beneficial. A comprehensive collection of them would be sure to lead to discoveries, but the time is hardly ripe for it yet, as they lie scattered, and have to be slowly gathered from

the mouth of the people and out of witch-trials.[1] Here let a few striking examples place beyond a doubt, not only their value, but their obstinate diffusion through nearly the whole of Europe.

In the Merseburg MS. the first poem is a *bond-spell*, to be sung while tying or unloosing bands, and this time relating to the release of a prisoner:

Eiris sâzun *idisi*, sâzun hera duoder,
suma hapt heptidun, suma heri lezidun,
suma clûbôdun umbi cuoniowidi:
'insprincg haptbandum, invar vigandum!'

i.e. Olim sedebant nymphae, sedebant huc illuc (AS. þider, thither), aliae vincula vinciebant, aliae exercitum morabantur, aliae carpebant redimicula: 'exsili e vinculis, elabere hostibus!' Wackernagel was the first to penetrate the sense of the last line, by which the last but one is also made clear: the plucking (clawing) at the bonds slackens their hold, and the captive then can slip them off. Of 'hapt heptian' I have spoken p. 401; the binding and unbinding is alluded to in our minnesongs. Beda 4, 22 tells of a man who could not be kept bound: '*nec* tamen *vinciri potuit*, nam mox ut abiere qui vinxerant, eadem ejus sunt vincula soluta . . . Interea comes, qui eum tenebat, mirari et interrogare coepit, quare ligari non posset, an forte *literas solutorias, de qualibus fabulae ferunt*, apud se haberet, propter quas ligari non posset? At ille respondit, nihil se *talium artium* nosse.' He was sold to a third man: 'sed nec ab illo ullatenus potuit alligari.' Beda's explanation of the marvel is, that his friends, thinking him dead, had had masses said for the deliverance of his soul. The AS. version goes a step farther, which seems worthy of notice: 'and hine âcsade, hwæðer he þâ *âlýsendlîcan rûne* cuðe, and þâ *stânas mid him âwritene* hæfde, be swylcum men leás spell secgað.' What were these stones written over with runes, which the translator had in his mind?——We have to suppose *three sets* of women, each plying a separate task (see Suppl.).

The second Merseburg formula is for healing a *lamed horse*:

Phol ende *Wôdan* vuorun zi holza,
dô wart demo *Balderes* volon sîn vuoz birenkit (wrenched);

[1] Horst borrowed for his Zauberbibl. a parchm. MS. of the 15th cent. full of spells, from which he has extracted nothing, and which is missing at Treves ever since.

dô biguolen *Sinthgunt, Sunnâ* era suister,
dô biguolen *Frûwâ, Follâ* era suister,
dô biguolen *Wôdan*, sô he wola conda,
sôse bên-renki, sôse bluot-renki,
sôse lidi-renki . . . . . .
bên zi bêna, bluot zi bluoda,
lid zi giliden, sôse gelîmida sîn.

Here is sung an adventure that befell the two gods (p. 224), and how Wôdan healed the sprained foot of Balder's foal by besinging it (bigalan). And now the repetition of the song cures other lame horses too. What the rest of the gods cannot do, *Wôdan* can, just as the Yngl. saga 7 says of him: 'Óðinn kunni at gera með ordum (words alone) einum at slöckva eld ok kyrra siâ, ok snûa vindum hverja leið er hann vildi.' He is the greatest magician or wonder-man of all.

Now observe in what shapes the same spell shews itself surviving in the popular superstitions of today. In Norway:

Jesus reed sig til hede,
da reed han sönder sit föle-been (his foal's leg asunder).
Jesus stigede af, og lägte det:
Jesus lagde marv i marv,
been i been, kjöd i kjöd,
Jesus lagde derpaa et blad (thereon a leaf),
at det skulde blive i samme stad.

In Sweden, for a horse's ailment *flåg* (our anflug, fit):

Oden står på berget (stands on the hill),
han spörjer (speers, asks) efter sin föle,
floget har han fått.——
spotta (spit) i din hand, och i hans mun (his mouth),
han skall få bot (get boot) i samma stund (hour).

Whilst another begins thus:

Frygge frågade frå:
huru skall man bota (heal)
den fläget får (sheep)?

The two Swedish stanzas, evidently incomplete, are given by F. Magnusen in the Dagen 1842 no. 119, from Mimer, Ups. 1839. p. 277. That similar snatches of song still live in the Netherlands, I am informed in a letter from Halbertsma: 'Een mijner boeren gaf my voorleden jaar een rijm, dat de toverdokters prevelden, terwijl zij den verrukten voet van een pard (foot of a horse) met

de hand van boven naar beneden stroken, en alzo genazen.' I wish he had sent me the rhyme itself.

What sounds more significant is a Scotch tradition I take out of Chambers's Fireside stories, Edinb. 1842. p. 37: 'When a person has received a sprain, it is customary to apply to an individual practised in casting the *wresting thread*. This is a thread spun from *black wool*, on which are cast *nine knots*, and *tied round a sprained leg or arm*. During the time the operator is putting the thread round the affected limb, he says, but *in such a tone of voice as not to be heard by the bystanders*, nor even by the person operated upon:

The *Lord* rade,
and the foal slade;
he lighted,
and he righted,
set joint to joint,
bone to bone,
and sinew to sinew.
Heal in the Holy Ghost's name!'

Here the spell serves for sprains even in the human body, though it set out with the sliding of the foal; and to the whispered words is added a ligature of woollen thread in nine knots.

How exact the agreement, in these perfectly independent versions, of their 'bên zi bêna, been i been, bone to bone,' their 'lid zi giliden, kjöd i kjöd, sinew to sinew'! Those who cannot believe in the faithful preservation of what is entrusted to popular memory, have here an example extending from the 10th cent. to the 19th over Germany, Scotland and Scandinavia. It is certain that the same or similar words have been superstitiously repeated countless times in all the countries of Teutonic tongue. The Cod. Vatic. 4395 has on fol. 83ª the following charm: 'Gott wurden iiii nagel (God had 4 nails) in sein hend und fuez geslagen, da von er iiii wunden enphie, do er an dem heiligen chreuz hieng (l. hie). die funft wunden im Longinus stach, er west nicht waz er an ihm rach . . . an dem dritten tag gepot (bade) Got dem lichnam, der in der erden lag, fleisch zu fleisch, pluet zu pluet, adern zu adern, pain zu pain, gelider zu gelidern, yslichs (each) an sein stat. bei Demselbigen gepeut ich dir (bid I thee) fleisch zu fleisch,' etc.

But what is more, a great deal farther back, among the very oldest Romans, there lingered *dislocation-spells* full of unintelligible words. The one partially quoted p. 224-5 from Cato may as well be inserted in full, as it throws light on the nature of our

German charms. 'Luxum si quod est, hac *cantione* sanum fiet. Harundinem prende tibi viridem pedes IV aut V longam. Mediam diffinde, et duo homines teneant ad coxendices. Incipe *cantare* "in alio. s. f. motas vaetas daries dardaries astataries Dissunapiter," usque dum coëant. Ferrum insuper jactato. Ubi coierint et altera alteram tetigerit, id manu prende, et dextra sinistra praecide. Ad luxum aut ad fracturam alliga, sanum fiet, et tamen quotidie *cantato* "in alio s. f. vel *luxato*. Vel hoc modo, huat hanat huat ista pista sista, domiabo damnaustra, et *luxato*. Vel hoc modo, huat haut ista sis tar sis ardannabon dunnaustra."' It is of this invocation that Pliny says at the end of book 17: '*Carminis verba* inserere non equidem serio ausim, quanquam a Catone prodita, contra luxata membra, jungenda *arundinum* fissurae.' The words do seem nonsense to us now, and may also be corrupt; but why should not they belong originally to the Sabine or some neighbouring language of ancient Italy, that we know very little of? The rhymes *ista pista sista* and the alliteration 'domiabo damnaustra' (the 'dannabon dunnaustra' that follows is the same over again, and ought to have an 'ista pista sista' before it too) remind us of the rhyming spell in Virgil's Ecl. 8: 'Limus ut hic *durescit* et haec ut cera *liquescit* Uno eodemque igni, sic nostro Daphnis amore.' *Dissunapiter* is the god invoked, like the Phol and Wodan of our spells. Marcellus Empiricus, a physician of the 4th cent., has in his De Medicamentis a charm for pain of the heart: 'In lamella stannea scribes et ad collum suspendes haec, antea vero etiam cane, Corcu ne mergito, cave corcu ne mergito cantorem, utos, utos, utos, praeparavi tibi vinum lene, libidinem, discede a nonita, in nomine Dei Jacob, in nomine Dei Sebaoth!' (see Suppl.)

In the Cod. Vindob. theol. 259 Latin and German spells are intermixed. '(*De eo quo*)*d spurihalz dicimus*.[1] si in dextero pede contigerit, in sinistra aure sanguis minuatur; si in sinistro pede, in dextera aure minuatur sanguis. *Ad vermes occidendos. Feruina* (?) Dei gracia plena. tu habes triginta quinque indices et triginta quinque medicinas. quando Dominus ascendit ad coelos ascendit, memorare quod dixit. *Ad apes conformandos.* vos

[1] MHG. spurhalz, Diut. 2, 140; conf. diu spurgalze, MsH. 3, 278ᵇ (springhalt?).

estis ancillę Domini (conf. pp. 579. 755), adjuro vos per nomen Domini, ne fugiatis a filiis hominum. *Ad pullos de nido.* crescite et multiplicamini et vivite et implete terram. *Contra sagittam diaboli.* palamiasit. palamiasit. calamia insiti per omne corpus meum. per ista tria nomina, per Patrem et Filium et Filium sanctum. aius aius aius, sanctus sanctus sanctus. in Dei nomine cardia cardiani de necessu (recessu?) propter illum *malannum* (p. 1160), quod dominus papa ad imperatorem transmisit, quod omnis homo super se portare debet. amen. tribus vicibus. De hoc quod *spurihalz* dicunt. primum pater noster.

visc flôt aftar themo watare, verbrustun sîna vetherun,
thô gihêlida ina use Druhtin; the selvo Druhtin
thie gehêle that hors thera *spurihelti!*

Contra vermes:

gang ût, *nesso* mid nigun *nessiklinon*, ût fana themo margę an that bên, fan themo bêne an that flêsg, ût fan themo flêsge an thia hûd, ût fan thera . . . strâla! Druhtin werthe sô.[1]

The nesso and his nine young ones are the worms to be cast out. '*Petrus, Michahel* et *Stephanus* ambulabant per viam, sic dixit Michahel: *Stephani equus infusus*, signet illum Deus, signet illum Christus, et erbam comedat et aquam bibat.'——Two of these charms are about lame horses again, and one about a sick horse (Ducange sub. v. infusio, infusus equus). Also the transitions from marrow to bone (or sinews), to flesh and hide, resemble phrases in the sprain-spells (see Suppl.).

The oldest and most beautiful charms of all nations pass into prayers, which were repeated during sacrifice; the simplest are found in pastoral life. What a fresh innocence breathes in those prayers to the Thunder-god (p. 176)! When the Cheremisses keep their grand feast of Shurem, and bring quiet offerings of peace, at which *no female creature must be seen* (conf. p. 1152n.), they speak a prayer, out of which I pick a few sentences: 'Who

[1] A Cod. Tegerns. 524, 2 at Munich has a more complete version in OHG.: 'gang ûz, *nesso* mit niun *nessinclinon*, ûz fonna marga in deô âdra, vonna dên âdrun in daz fleisk, fonna demu fleiske in daz fel, fonna demo velle in diz tulli. ter pater noster.' So nesso has *ss* in OHG. too. Tulli, like strâla, is an implement, conf. MHG. tülle, Nib. 897, 3 and Haupt on Engelh. 1916. [Strâla is arrow; tülle the hole in the arrow-shaft for inserting the head. The disease charmed into your arrow, will pass on to your enemy (?)—TRANS.]

to God hath sacrificed, to him God give health and wealth, bestowing on the babes that shall be born store of money, bread, bees and cattle. May he cause the bees to swarm this year and make plenty of honey. When spring draws nigh, O God, let the three kinds of cattle set out on their three ways, defend them from deep mire, from bears, wolves and thieves. As the hops are thick and springy, so bless us with good hap and sound mind! As the light burneth bright, so live we our life! as the wax daily addeth to itself,[1] so be our increase!' (from Aleks. Fuks 'O Chuvashakh i Cheremisakh,' Kazan 1840, in Erman's Archiv 1841, 2nd no.).

'Dapem pro bubus piro florente facito. Dapem hoc modo fieri oportet. *Jovi dapali* culignam vini quantum vis polluceto. Eo die feriae bubus et bubulcis, et qui dapem facient. Cum pollucere oportebit, sic facias: *Jupiter dapalis*, quod tibi fieri oportet, in domo familia mea culignam vini dapi, ejus rei ergo macte hac illace dape pollucenda esto! macte vino inferio esto! *Vestae*, si voles, dato. Daps *Jovi* assaria pecuina, urna vini *Jovi* caste. Profanato sine contagione, postea dape facta serito milium, panicum, alium, lentim' (Cato de re rust. 132).

Along with this, take (from Cod. Exon. 5214) an AS. *bôt*, i.e. puoza (bettering) of barren land blasted by magic. 'Her is seo bôt, hû þû meaht þîne *æceras bêtan*, gif hî nellað wel weaxan, oððe þær hwilc ungedêfe þing ongedôn bið, on drŷ oððe on lyblâce.

'Genim þonne (take then) on niht, *ær hit dagige, feower tyrf* on feower healfa þæs landes, and gemearca hû hî ær stôdon. nim þonne *ele* and *hunig* and *beorman*, and ælces feos *meolc* (each cattle's milk) þe on þæm lande sî, and ælces *treowcynnes* (tree-kind) dæl, þe on þæm lande sî geweaxen, *bûtan heardan beáman*, and ælcre namcuðre *wyrte* dæl, *bûtan glappan ânon*; and dô þonne hâlig wæter þæron, and drŷpe þonne þriwa (thrice) on þone staðol þâra turfa, and cweðe þonne þâs word: Crescite, weaxe, et multiplicamini, and gemænigfealde, et replete, and gefylle, terram, þâs eorðan, in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti

[1] Quidquid tangebam *crescebat tanquam favus*, Petron. cap. 43. 79; alluding to the steady growth of the honeycomb in the hive. When the Servian badniak burns at Yule, the invited polaznik steps up to the log, and strikes it with a shovel, making the sparks fly, and saying: 'As many sheep, as many goats, as many swine, as many oxen, as many god-sends and blessings, *as here fly sparks!*' Vuk's Montenegro p. 106.

benedicti, and Pater noster swâ oft swâ þæt oðer. And bere siððan þâ *turf* tô cyrcean, and messepreost âsinge feower messan ofer þâm turfon, and *wende man þæt grêne tô þam weofode* (altar). and siððan *gebringe* man þâ *turf, þær hî ær wæron, ær sunnan setlgange,* and hæbbe him geworht of *cwicbeáme* feower Cristes mælo, and âwrîte on ælcon ende Mattheus and Marcus, Lucas and Johannes. lege þæt Cristes mæl on þone pyt neoðeweardne, cweðe þonne: Crux Mattheus, crux Marcus, crux Lucas, crux Johannes. nim þonne þâ *turf* and sette þær ufon on, and cweðe nigon siðon (9 times) þâs word: Crescite, and swâ oft Pater noster. and wende þe þonne eástweard, and onlût (bow) nigon siðon eádmôdlîce (humbly), and cweð þonne þâs word:

Eástweard ic stande, ârena (favours) ic me bidde,
bidde ic þone mæran Dryhten, b. i. þ. miclan Dryhten,
bidde ic þone hâligan heofonrîces Weard.
eorðan ic bidde and *upheofon,*
and þâ sôðan sancta *Marian,*
and heofenes meaht and heáhreced,
þæt ic môte *þis gealdor* mid gife Dryhtnes
tôðum ontŷnan þurh trumme geþanc,
âweccan þâs wæstmas (fruits) us to woruldnytte (our use),
gefyllan þâs foldan (fields) mid fæste geleáfan,
wlitigian þâs *wangturf,* swâ se wîtega cwæð,
þæt se (he) hæfde âre (honour) on eorðrîce se þe (who) ælmyssan dælde dômlice Dryhtnes þances (for the sake).

Wende þe þonne þriwa *sun-ganges. âstrecce þe* þonne *on andlang,* and ârim þær letanias, and cweð þonne, Sanctus sanctus sanctus, oð ende. sing þonne Benedicite *âþenedon* (outstretched) *earmon,* and Magnificat and Pater noster III, and bebeod hit Criste and sancta Marian and þære hâlgan rôde tô lofe and tô weorðinga (to the praise and glory of Christ, etc.), and þam tô âre (to the benefit of him) þe þæt land âge, and eallon þâm þe him underþeodde (subject) sint. þonne (when) þæt eall sî gedôn, þonne *nime* man *uncûð sæd* æt *ælmesmannum,* and selle him twâ swylc swylce man æt him nime, and gegaderie ealle his *sulhgeteogo* (plough-tackle) tô gædere. borige þonne on þam beáme *stór* and *finol* and gehâlgode *sâpan* and *gehâlgod sealt.* nim þonne

þæt sæd, sete on þæs *sulhes* bodig. cweð þonne:

Erce, erce, erce, eorðan môdor,[1]
geunne þe se alwealda êce Dryhten (God grant thee)
æcera weaxendra and wriðendra,
eácniendra and elniendra;
sceáf tæce[2] se scîra (reaper) wæstma,
and þære brâdan bere wæstma (barley's fruit),
and þære hwîtan hwæte wæstma,
and ealra eorðan wæstma.
geunne him êce Dryhten
and his hâlige þe on heofonum sint,
þæt his yrð sî gefriðod (spared) wið ealra feonda gehwæne,
and heo sî geborgen (protected) wið ealra bealwa gehwylc,
þâra lyblâca geond land sâwen.
nu bidde ic þone Wealdend, se þe þâs weoruld gesceôp,
þæt ne sî nân tô þæs cwidol wîf, ne tô þæs cræftig man,
þæt âwendan ne mæge word þus gecweðene.

þonne man þâ *sulh forð drîfe* and þâ *forman furh onsceote* (cleaves the first furrow), cweð þonne:

hâl wes þû *folde, fira môdor*!
beo þû grôwende on Godes fæðme (bosom, lap),
fôdre gefylled firum tô nytte (for use to men)!

nim þonne *ælces cynnes melo,* and *âbace* man *inneweardre handa brâdne hlâf,* and gecned hire mid meolce and mid hâlig wætere, and *lecge under þâ forman furh.* cweð þonne:

ful æcer fôdres fira-cynne (for mankind)
beorht blôwende, þû geblêtsod weorð
þæs hâligan naman, þe þâs heofon gesceôp
and þâs eorðan þe we on lifiað.
se God þe þâs grundas geweorhte geunne us grôwende gife,
þæt us corna gehwylc cume tô nytte!

cweð þonne þriwa Crescite in nomine Patris benedicti amen, and Pater noster þriwa.

This notable document, notwithstanding that christian cere-

[1] The explanation of this line attempted on p. 253 remains a bold guess. Another AS. gealdor, against adder's bite, begins: 'ærce ærcre ærnem nadre ærcund hel ærnem niþærn,' etc.

[2] MS. sceafitahen. I take it as 'manipulum capiat.'

monies have crept into it, seems to reach far back to the early times of heathen sacrifices and husbandry. As the daps was spread and the winebowl emptied to Jove, after which the millet, panic, leek and lentils might be sown, so ploughing is here preceded by sacrificial rites. Sods are cut out from the four corners of the field, oil, honey and barm, milk of each sort of cattle, some of every kind of tree (except hard wood, i.e. oak and beech, RA. 506), and of all name-known herbs (save burs) are laid on the sods, and holy water sprinkled; then the 'four turfs' are carried into church, the green side being turned to the altar, four masses are said over them, and before sunset they are taken back to their places in the field. And now the spells are spoken; unknown seed is bought of beggar-men (conf. p. 1138), and placed on the plough, another spell is recited, and the first furrow ploughed with a 'Hail Earth, mother of men,' etc. Then *meal of every kind* is taken, a large loaf kneaded with milk is baked and laid under the first furrow, and one more spell is spoken. We know the Romans offered meal-cakes and fruit in their corn-fields; but it seems to me that our own ordinances (weisthümer) have unconsciously preserved vestiges of the heathen rite: 'when the plower cometh to an end of the furrow, there shall he find a *pot of honey*, and at the other end a *pot of milk*, wherewith to refresh him lest he faint' (Weisth. 2, 547, 'melts' here must be for 'milch,' it cannot be meal or malt). Further: 'at the plowing shall be brought a *loaf* so great that one may stick it on the axle of the *plow-wheel*, and therewith plow a furrow; if the loaf do break when the furrow is done, and the plower have not another wheel ready to put in its place, then shall he smart (pay a fine); if the bread break ere the furrow be finished, let him fare home unfined' (2, 356). Sometimes the regulation runs thus: 'if the plower break a wheel, he shall for penance provide a *loaf* as large round as the plow-wheel, and *baken of every grain that the plow doth win*; he shall so softly drive the plow, that a *finch* can feed her young on the wheel' (2, 179. 180), or, as expressed in 2, 547, 'that, if a grain of oat fall into the wheel, the *fowls of the air* shall pick it up.' In 2, 120 merely the size of the loaf is determined by that of the plow-wheel; but at 2, 128 it says again: 'of the *grain that the farm beareth and the mill breaketh*, shall be baken a cake as great as

the plow-wheel, and the plower therewith plow: if the wheel break ere he come to the end, he is finable, if it break not, yet is he finable notwithstanding.' The 'cake of *all grain that the mill grinds*' occurs again at 2, 147; and the '*rye-loaf* to be put in place of a plow-wheel that comes off' at 2, 262. 412. 587. What is the drift of these curious regulations? Was ever ploughman fed on milk and honey? were loaves and cakes ever stuck on the axle to cut the first furrow? They are surely the ancient sacrificial loaves, which with milk and honey poured over them were laid in the furrow (ad piamentum, p. 1196), and distributed to the ploughmen, which even the birds were allowed to peck at; their being made of *all sorts of grain*, so as to embrace the entire produce of the field, as the brâde hlâf in the AS. spell is baked of each kind of meal, goes far to decide.

Verelius in his Notes to the Hervararsaga p. 139 tells us, that the Swedish peasants, after *baking the jula-galt* (Yule-boar p. 51), dry it, and keep it till spring; then they grate a part of it in with the seed-corn and give it to the plough-horses, and another part to the men that hold the ploughtail: 'Verrem fictum siccant, et ad veris tempus, cum semina sulcis sunt credenda, servant. Tum partem ejus comminutam in vas vel in corbem, ex quo semina sunt dispergenda, immittunt, hordeoque permixtam equis aratoribus, alteram servis stivam tenentibus comedendam relinquunt, spe forte uberioris messis percipiendae.' Here then is another sacrificial cake, which was mixt with the seed, and tasted by the ploughing men and animals; who knows but that burning the devil, and dividing and scattering his ashes over the cornfields, a deed the witches were accused of (p. 1073), may have arisen out of their baking a sacrificial cake in the shape of an idol? A cake was also baked at the Bealtine, and distributed among the multitude, p. 613.

The *culture of flax* is sure not to have been deficient in speeches and ceremonies of blessing: to this day the girls sing all kinds of songs over this work. In some places, at sowing time, the mistress of the house used to get on the table and dance, then jump off backwards: *the higher she made this leap, the higher the flax would grow* (conf. Sup. I, 519). Lasicz p. 50 says of the Samogits: 'Tertio post ilgas die deum Waizganthos colunt virgines, ut ejus beneficio tam lini quam cannabis habeant

copiam. Ubi altissima illarum, impleto placentulis quas sikies vocant sinu, et *stans pede uno in sedili* manuque sinistra sursum elata librum prolixum tiliae vel ulmo detractum, dextera vero craterem cerevisiae haec loquens tenet: Waizganthe, produc nobis *tam altum linum quam ego nunc alta sum*, neve nos nudos incedere permittas! Post haec craterem exhaurit, impletumque rursus deo in terram effundit, et placentas e sinu ejicit, a deastris, si qui sint Waizgantho, comedendas. Si haec peragens *firma perstet*, bonum lini proventum anno sequenti futurum in animum inducit; *si lapsa pede altero nitatur*, dubitat de futura copia, fidemque effectus sequitur.' In the Wetterau, at the sowing of this plant, the dame has to jump up on the fireplace, and cry: 'Heads as big as mine, leaves like my apron, and stalks like my legs!' and then the plant will turn out well (see Suppl.).

How the Romans kept the *wolf* out of their fields, we are informed by Pliny 28, 20 [81]: 'Lupos in agrum non accedere, si capti unius pedibus infractis cultroque adacto paulatim *sanguis* circa fines agri *spargatur*, atque ipse *defodiatur* in eo loco ex quo coeperit trahi; aut si *vomerem*, quo *primus sulcus* eo anno in agro ductus sit, excussum aratro, *focus larium* quo familia convenit absumat; ac lupum nulli animali nociturum in eo agro, quamdiu id fiat.'

A *herdsman's charm* from a MS. of the 15th cent. shews marks of a far remoter origin: 'ich treip heut aus in unser lieben Frauen haus, in *Abrahams garten* (conf. p. 1220), der lieber herr sant Mertein, der sol heut meines (vihes) pflegen und warten, und der lieber herr sant *Wolfgang*, der lieb herr sant Peter, der hat den himelischen slussel, die versperrent dem *wolf* und der *vohin* irn drussel, dass si weder plut lassen noch bein schroten. Des helf mir der man, der chain ubel nie hat getan (i.e. Christ, conf. 'sinless man,' p. 24, and the contrast p. 988), und die heiligen V wunden behüten mein vieh vor allen *holzhunden*. V Pater et V Ave Maria.' [1]

Here the rhymes peep out fitfully. The *wood-hounds* are

[1] Today my herd I drove Into Our Lady's grove, Into Abraham's garden; Be good St. Martin This day my cattle's warden, May good St. Wolfgang, good St. Peter (whose key can heav'n unlock), Throat of wolf and vixen block, Blood from shedding, bone from crunching! Help me the holy one, Who ill hath never done, And his V holy wounds Keep my herd from all wood-hounds!

Wuotan's forest-hounds (p. 147), the AS. 'holtes gehlêðan,' silvae latrones, El. 223, the hölzinge (Reinh. p. lv); and that the fox named with the wolf should be *vohe* fem., is in harmony with Goth. faúhô, OHG. fohâ. The *Wolfgang* who is to fend the flock, is so named either because he gangs against the wolf, or because the wolf met the hero at a lucky moment, p. 1140n.

As I have not met with a German *bee-spell*, I will give a Latin one in Baluze's Capitul. 2, 663 taken from a St Gall MS.: 'Ad revocandum examen apum dispersum: adjuro te, *mater aviorum*, per Deum regem coelorum, et per illum redemptorem Filium Dei te adjuro, ut non te in altum levare nec longe volare, sed quam plus cito potes ad arborem venire (velis); ibi te alloces cum omni tuo genere vel cum socia tua, ibi habeo bona vasa parata, ut vos ibi in Dei nomine laboretis, etc.' *Mater aviorum* (for apum) is the AS. *beomôdor* (p. 697); the steadily waxing comb (p. 1236n.) was *beobreád*, Cod. Exon. 425, 20, MHG. *biebrôt* (Gramm. 3, 463), but also *râz* and *wâbe* (from weaving, working, p. 697); the hive *biekar* (vas, Goth. kasi), the fly-hole OHG. flougar (Graff 3, 163). Our forefathers had at their service many more terms in apiculture than we, and prettier (see Suppl.)

As runes were written on bast (limrûnar â berki rîsta ok â baðmi viðar, Sæm. 195ª; cortex carminibus adnotatus, Saxo Gram. 44), the olden time may have had some runes for *detaching the bast from the wood*. Incantations have power to release the babe from ante-natal durance, the hard rind from the bast. Among shepherd lads in almost every part of Germany are preserved rhymes, in singing which they keep time by tapping a piece of willow on their knee with a knife-handle, till they can *slip it off unbroken to make a whistle of*. The simplest though not oldest version is: 'Fabian, Sebastian, *lat mi de widen-flōt afgan!*' (Voss on Idyl 6, 179) or in Ditmarsen: 'Fabian, Sebastian, lat den saft ut holt gan!' It is believed that on the day of these two saints (Jan. 20) the sap enters the willow. In some places both the names are wanting, but the spell is spun out longer: '*sa sa pipe* (prob. for *sap-pipe*), up'm mölen-dike (mill-dam) dar sit en man, de heet Johan, de har dre rode stöveln (3 red shoes) an, de ene hörde (belonged) mi to, de anner hörde di to, de drudde hörde'm papen to, do kam de ole hesse (old witch) mit en blanken meste (knife), sneet den küken den kop

af, smeet'en in busch, plumps sä de busch, *is de sapipe noch nicht good*?' Halbertsma says in the Overyssel Almanack for 1836: 'de twijg riip en gesneden zijnde, slaan (beat) de kinderen met het hecht (haft) van een mesje op een der groene rijsjes, tot dat de bast loslaat, dien zij er dan heel aftrekken (pulled off whole) en als een pijp gebruiken om op te fluiten of er erwten door te blazen. Zoo lang het kind met zijn mesje op den *bast* tikte, plag het (he used) oudtijds de volgende regelen te zingen: *Lange lange pipe, wenneer bistou ripe?* Te Meye, te Meye, as de veugeltjes eyer lekt. 'T ketjen op den dyk zat, sute melk met brokken (crumbs) at. Doè kwam de voele hesse al met de scharpe messe, wold et ketjen et oor (ear) afsnien; it ketjen ging ant lopen to hope, to hope! de voele hesse ging lopen. Heel of, half of, houwe dijn den kop af, so dood as een piere, kump sün levendage net weer hiere.' Firmenich gives the form as used in the Neumark, p. 121: '*sipp sapp seepe, moak mi 'ne flöte!*—Wovon denn?—Von meieroan (marjoram), von thymegoan, *det se balle* (soon) *mag afgoahn.*' And in Priegnitz, p. 131: '*sibbe sibbe sibbe säubken, loat mi det kleine fleutken goot afgoahn,* goot afgoahn, bes up (up to) den letzten *knoaken*!'——We can see how Sebastian got in, from 'sap-pipe, sibbe sabbe,' perhaps also 'bast.' In the Böhmerwald the willow or alder twig is thus conjured (Jos. Rank p. 168): '*pföfferl gei owa,* sist schloga dö owa; lei's *rintl* o drahdö eiz, heargotl pfeiz!' little pipe, come off, else I knock thee off; dear little rind, do draw thee now, my lord god pipe! Woycicki kl. 1, 92. 151 tells us, that to get a marvellous *pipe* (fuyarka) that can make everybody dance, one must find in the forest's gloom the green willow that *never heard the rush of water nor the crow of cock*: 'co by nigdy nie słyszała szuma wody, ni piania koguta.' This detail, expressly picked up among the peasantry on the Pruth and Dniester, strangely coincides with Pliny's statement 16, 37 [71]: 'ex qua (sambuco) magis canoram *buccinam tubamque* credit pastor ibi caesa, ubi *gallorum cantum frutex ille non exaudiat.*' Of peeling the willow there is nothing said (see Suppl.).

An old AS. spell for *fær-stice,* sudden stitch in the side, was communicated to me by Price from the Harley MS. no. 585 fol. 186. First, three herbs are to be boiled in butter, *feverfew* (febrifugia = febrem fugans, Capit. de villis, Pertz 3, 186), *red*

nettle that grows through a fence (conf. p. 1200, through a sieve), and *waybread*, OHG. wegabreita, plantago: 'Wið færstice *fefer-fuge*, and seo *reáde netele* þe þurh ærn [1] inwyxð, and *wegbræde*, wylle in buteran.

Hlûde wæron hí, lâ hlûde, þâ hí ofer þone hlæw ridon,
wæron ânmôde, þâ hí ofer land ridon.
scyld þû þe, nu þû þisne nîð genesan môte.
ût, lytel spere, gif her inne sie!
stôd (I stood) under linde, under leohtum scylde,
þær þâ *mihtigan wif* hyra mægen berædon (mustered),
and hí *gyllende gâras* (whizzing lances) sendon.
ic him oðerne eft wille sendan (I'll send them back another)
fleogende flân forane tô geanes.
ût, lytel spere, gif hit her inne sie!
sæt smið, slôh seax lytel (hammered little knife)
. . . . . îserna wund swiðe.
ût, lytel spere, gif her inne sie!
sex smiðas sæton, wælspera worhton,
ûtspere, næs (was not) innspere.
gif her inne sie îsernes dæl (any iron),
hægtessan geweorc (witch's work), hit sceal gemyltan (melt),
gif þû wære on fell scoten, oððe wære on flæsc scoten,
oððe wære on blôd scoten . . . . .
oððe wære on lið scoten, næfre ne st þîn lîf âtæsed,
gif hit wære *êsa gescot*, oððe hit wære *ylfa gescot*,
oððe hit wære *hægtessan gescot*, nu ic wille þîn helpan:
þis þe tô bôte *êsa gescotes*, þis þe tô bôte *ylfa gescotes*,
þis þe tô bôte *hægtessan gescotes*. ic þîn wille helpan.
fleo þær on fyrgen (flee to the desert) . . . . !
heáfde hâl westu, helpe þîn Dryhten!
nim þonne þæt seax, âdô on wætan.'

A few gaps give trouble. The whole is based on the assumption that the stitch is caused by the shots of spirits. Loud over land and rock have ridden mighty women, hægtessan (p. 1040), and have sent whizzing darts, afterwards more narrowly defined as 'êsa, ylfa and hægtessan gescot,' shot of âses (p. 25), of elves (p. 443) and of witches (though the gen. sing. is used, not pl. hægtessena). The exorcist, in relating the transaction, calls to the patient to shield himself, that he may get over the attack,[2] and every now and then puts in the refrain 'Out, little spear, if herein thou be!' He goes on to tell how he stood under

[1] 'Should be hærn, conf. hærnflôta, Cod. Exon. 182, 9.'—SUPPL.

[2] 'þisne nîð genesan.' In AS. this verb takes the Acc., not the Gen. as in OHG: þâ sæcce genæs, Beow. 3950. nîða gehwane genesen hæfde 4789. fela ic guðræsa genæs 4848. se þâ gûðe genæs, Cædm. 121, 33.

shelter when those women let fly their darts, and means to send them a counter-shot, a knife, whose smiting by a smith is reported, as also that of war-spears by six smiths. Every bit of the witches' iron shall melt, wherever it may have been shot, into skin, flesh, blood or limb; help is nigh. Lastly: flee thou (enchantress) to the wilderness! be thou (patient) well in thy head, Lord help thee! At the conclusion of the spell the knife (that forged by the smith?) is to be dipt in water. Apparently after 'scoten' there ought to be 'oððe wære on bân scoten'; and perhaps after 'fyrgen' some such words as 'seo þone flân sceát (or, sende)' (see Suppl.).

For other spells hitherto unprinted I have to thank Mr. Kemble. 'Cwið ymbe, nim *eorðan*, oferweorp mid þînre swîðran handa under þînum swîðran fôt, and cwet:

fô ic under fêt, funde ic hit.
hwæt, *eorðe mæg wið ealra wihta gehwylce*,
and wið andan, and wið æminde,
and wið þâ micelan mannes tungan.

and wið on forweorp ofer *greot* þonne his wirman, and cweð:

sitte ge, etc.' (here come the verses given at p. 431).

For the water-elf sickness: 'gif mon bið on *wæterælf-âdle*, þonne beoð him þâ hand-næglas wonne, and þâ eágan tearige, and wile lôcian niðer. dô him þis tô læcedôme: eoforþrote, cassuc, eowberge, elehtre, eolone, mersc-mealwan-crop, fenminte, dile, lilie, âttorlâðe, polleie, marrubie, docce, ellen, felterre, wermôd, strâwbergean leáf, consolde. ofgeot mid ealað, dô hâlig wæter tô, sing þis *gealdor* ofer þriwa:

ic benne âwrâð betest beado-wræða,
swâ benne ne burnon ne burston,
ne fundian ne feologan ne hoppettan,
ne wund waxian, ne dolh diopian,
ac him self healde hâlewæge,
ne ace þe þon mâ, þe *eorðan* on eáre ace (âge?).

sing þis manegum sîðum. *eorðe* þe onbere *mid eallum hire* (i.e. Earth's) *mihtum and mægenum*. þâs *gealdor* mon mæg singan on wunde.'

The *earth*, caught up in the right hand from under the right

foot, heals and shelters; 'might and main' belong to the earth. *Hâlewœge* answers to our heilawâc, p. 585.

About the elvish *mare* and *nightmare*, what was said on p. 464-5 is by no means all: they ride not only men but horses, whose manes in the morning are found dripping with sweat and tangled, conf. Svantevit's horse p. 662. Cannegieter in Epistola de ara ad Noviomagum reperta p. 25 says: 'Abigunt eas *nymphas* (matres deas, mairas) hodie rustici *osse capitis equini tectis injecto*, cujusmodi ossa per has terras in rusticorum villis crebra est animadvertere (conf. p. 660). Nocte autem ad concubia equitare creduntur, et equos fatigare ad longinqua itinera. Illud namque datum *deabus* illis *magis*que, si rusticorum fabulis credimus, ut *manentes* loca peregrina adeant, in *equis manentibus*, qui tamen viae labores sudore testantur. Nuper confabulatus mecum villicus aegerrime ferebat equos suos proxima nocte exagitatos, defluente per corpora sudore; causam cum quaererem, respondit iratus, *mairam nocturnam* equitasse.' To this *maira* nocturna, be it akin to *matrona* (p. 417) or even to *μοῖρα*, one might be tempted to trace our *nachtmar*, *nightmare*, had we not a better derivation at hand. To the OHG. marah (equus), AS. mear, ON. marr, seems to correspond the AS. fem. *meare* (surely a better spelling than mære), ON. *mara*. True, the OHG. meriha means only equa, not ephialtes, and we now distinguish mähre from mahr; on the other hand, in ON. it is to the fem. *mara* that the demonic sense attaches, and so early as in the Yngl. saga cap. 16 king Vanlandi is trodden to death in his sleep by a mara: 'mara trað hann'; when his people rush to his aid, 'trað hun fôtleggina,' and at last 'kafdi hun höfuðit, svâ at þar dô hann.' The image then seems to waver between the ridden beast and the riding trampling one, just as the devil sometimes rides men, sometimes as a horse takes them on his back. Like the *mara*, we saw p. 278 that the *Stempe* treads. Wolf (nos. 249—254) gives some good mare-stories from the Netherlands; I lay special stress on a spell-song he has against the sprite, p. 689:

O *maer*, gy lelyk dier (ye loathly beast),
komt toch dezen nacht niet wêer (again)!
alle waters zult gy waeyen (shall ye wade),

alle boomen zult gy blaeyen (disleaf),
alle spieren gerst (spikes of barley) zult gy tellen,
komt my toch dezen nacht niet kwellen!

With this take a Henneberg spell in Haupt's Zeitschr. 3, 360:

Das *wallala* alle berge durchtra (-trab, trot),
alle wasser durchbåt (-bade, bathe),
alle bletlich åblåt,
onnerdesse wörd's tak (until it be day)!

Both refer to the spirit's nightly jaunt, it trots over all the hills, wades (or bathes) through the waters, strips the trees, counts the corn-stalks, until the break of day; then on the maerentakken (mistletoes?) the mare is said to rest. The name 'wallala' may come from wallen, wadeln, or be a cry of wail (Gramm. 3, 293), for the night-spirits (Sup. I, 878) appear as wailing-mothers (p. 432-3, and Schm. 4, 54).——A third spell I take from Schreiber's Tagb. 1839. p. 321: '*Drude's-head*, I forbid thee my house and yard, I forbid thee my bedstead, that not over me thou trostest (trottest? treadest?); trost to some other house, till over all hills and waters thou climbest, and all the hedge-sticks ehlest (zehlest, tellest?)! Then comes dear day into my house again.' Drute is the same thing as mahre, as drutenzopf (plica) is also called marenzopf, alpzopf, and drutenfuss maerenvoet. I think the most important point is, that the sprite is shy of daylight, and the dawn scares it away (p. 466 n.); the Alvismâl closes exactly like these spells: '*nu scînn sunna î sali*'; conf. 'dagr er nû,' Sæm. 145[b]. I hope the spell may yet turn up in other places, and in a purer form.

Healing-spells are fond of beginning with something in the narrative way, some transaction from which the remedy derives its force; and it is here especially that we find heathen beings left high and dry. When a spell opens with 'Sprach jungfrau *Hille*, blut stand stille!' who can fail at once to recognise the old valkyr *Hilda*, her that can make blood flow and stanch it again? And even when the opening words are '*Mary* fared afield' or '*Christ* he crossed the land'; when a charm against finger-worm says '*God the Father* afield did ride, stoutly the hoe

[1] ἐπαοιδῇ αἷμα κελαινὸν ἔσχεθον, Od. 19, 457.

he plied, stubbed up the worms outright, one was black, another white, the third worm it was red; here lie the worms all dead'; it is clear that such formulas could not have originated in christian times, but might well survive among the people, who had merely to insert new sacred names. The heathen incident that would account for the obscure or senseless words, is mostly hidden from us. On p. 1232-3 'Jesus' and 'the Lord' have taken the place of Wuotan. '*Christus* in petra sedebat, et virgam manu tenebat,' Mone's Anz. 7, 609; or again, '*Job* went over land, had his staff in hand.' When '*Jesus* and *Peter* wandering go from country to country to and fro,' it is evidently the same widely diffused notion as at p. 337; but it is not always so easy to hit upon the heathen names that lie at the bottom. A favourite way is to start with *three* personages: as the idisi fall into three sets (p. 1231), so the *three Marys* look out (p. 416), like three norns or three fays. '*Three brothers* went afield' (Keisersb. ameis 50[a]; 'three blessed br.,' Spell XXXI.). '*Three virgins* come down from heaven to earth, the one *Blut-gülpe*, the next *Blut-stülpe*, the third *Blut-stehe-still*,' Märk. forsch. 1, 262; the last is the maid Hilda named alone in the other spell. I will only add from Roth. de nominibus vet. Germanorum medic., Helmst. 1735. p. 139: 'Juvat subnectere incantationis formulam, qua in Marchia Brandenb. atque adjacentibus regionibus in ophthalmia curanda uti solent anus decrepitae, insanos ritus deperientes, quam quidem factis variis gesticulationibus ac digitis ante dolentes oculos ter decussatim motis, *rauco susurramine* semel atque iterum *emutire* consuescunt, ita autem habent: Ibant aliquando *tres puellae* in via virente, prima noverat remedium aliquod contra suffusionem oculorum, altera noverat remedium aliquod contra albuginem, et tertia profecto contra inflammationem, eaeque sanabant una ratione omnia, in nomine Patris, Filii et Spiritus sancti, Amen' (see Suppl.).

Against particular diseases the remedies are pitted as though in mortal strife: 'de *ros* un de *wied*, de stan in strid, de *ros* verswann, de *wied* gewann'; or, 'de *flecht* (scrofula) un de *wied*, de krakeelten sik, de *wied* de gewünn, un de *flecht* verswünn,' Meckl. jahrb. 5, 102-3; or again, 'de *flockasch* (flugasche) un de *flechte*, de flogen wol over dat wilde meer; de *flockasch* de kam wedder, de *flechte* nimmermehr,' Sup. I, 811 (see Suppl.).

Spells for the wishing-rod, when it is to strike treasure or a vein of metal, see p. 975. A formula used in looking for a clay-pit, in whose earth are to be wrapt up the written slips of paper which shall clear up a doubtful matter, in Haupt's Zeitschr. 3, 190.

In addresses to animals whose encounter is prophetic, whose ways are mysterious, we may fairly recognise antique spells, though their language has undergone a great deal of distortion; such are the rhymes to the swan, p. 429, the stork 672, cuckoo 676, Martin's bird 1130, Mary's chafer 695, and others, whose essential identity among the most various branches of our race is an interesting feature.

In Scandinavia, where the reign of heathenism lasted longest, ought to be found the greatest number of such spells, either in writing or in the mouths of the people; and from them we could gather most distinctly the connexion, both of the words and of their import, with heathen notions. The spell by which Grôa was about to disengage the stone from Thôr's head, p. 375, is not preserved in the Edda, but spells quite similar may have been still muttered over men and beasts in recent times. Much to be desired is the speedy publication of a collection set on foot by L. F. Rääf in Sweden, and containing over 2000 articles, of which a preliminary notice appeared in the monthly Mimer (Ups. 1838—40) pp. 271—7. Among these spells now reduced to writing, isolated runes can here and there be recognised even yet, and in some cases their use is enjoined; thus, on the mode of compelling a thief to restore stolen goods on pain of losing his eye, we find the following prescription: Go at sunset on Sunday evening to a place that lies high, bearing a bucketful of water, cut the rune S, and charge the thief within a certain time to bring back what he has stolen, or lose his right eye. The rune S apparently refers to Sunday and sunset, perhaps to syn (sight, eye); does it also in connexion with the water-vessel point to the word sâ (situla)? Most likely the water was poured out, and ran down the hill (see Suppl.).

FINIS.

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